A Report on an Investigation of the Miao of Western Hunan

/Hsiang-hsi Miao-tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao/

By

Shun-shêng Ling
and
Yih-fu Ruey

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

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128 The present book went to press in 1940. After one year of typesetting and proofreading, the Pacific War began and Shanghai was occupied. The printing of the book was suspended. Fortunately, the hand-set type was intact when the war was over. However, as the book was written in 1939 many revisions were necessary, but the type already set could not be changed. Moreover, first-grade art paper was intended for use in the printing of the book, but due to the shortage of supplies newsprint is used instead, resulting in the defective reproduction of the plates for the illustrations, for which we beg the readers' indulgence.

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PREFACE

114 In the last one hundred years many European missionaries and scholars have come to China and have done considerable work in ethnological and philological research. Their published writings can be used, in great measure, as source material for academic studies. However, little has been done on the Miao tribe in western Hunan. In 1902 Torii Ryūzō of Japan traveled extensively in the southwestern provinces of China, investigating the life of the Miao. Although he traveled through western Hunan he was unable to enter the Miao area to work. Therefore, the Miao area of western Hunan can still be described as a virgin area for ethnological study.

In the spring and summer of 1933 the writers visited western Hunan for an investigation of the Miao. We left Nanking on May 1, following the Yangtze westward and passing through Wuchang, Hankow, and Changsha, to arrive at Changteh and Taoyüan; and again going westward along the Yüan River to P'u-shih in Lu-ch'i hsien, and thence abandoning the boat we traveled overland to Feng-huang. In the border area of the three hsien Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui, we made on-the-spot investigations and inquiries concerning all phases of Miao life. We returned to Nanking on August 1, after a period of three full months.

Three months is naturally too short a time for a thorough investigation of Miao life. However, we were greatly aided in our mission by the authorities of western Hunan, as well as by the Miao themselves, whose enthusiastic cooperation facilitated our work in every way. Through the division of labor among the three of us, day and night, we were able to shorten the time required for our work. The distribution of our work was as follows: The geography of the Miao territory, and the life, customs, and drum dances, etc. of the Miao people were undertaken by Ling Shun-shêng; the language, folk songs, and folklore, [124] etc. by Ruey Yih-fu; and photography, films, drawing, and

/1 cont./
114 cartography, etc. were the responsibilities of Mr. Yung T'u-
[126] heng, who accompanied us. The Miao gentlemen who helped
[115] us were Messrs. Wu Wen-hsiang, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Tsung-hsüan of Feng-huang; Mr. Shih Ch'i-kuei of Kan-ch'eng; and Messrs. Lung Lin-chang, Lung Ting-kuo, and Lung Sheng-fa of Yung-sui, who were with us day and night ready to answer our questions. After we left western Hunan Messrs. Shih Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liang-tso, and Wu Wen-hsiang undertook /2/ supplementary investigative work that we designated, for a long time. Thus, although our trip was short, the work accomplished would have taken a year or at least more than half a year had it been conducted by one person alone.

128 After our return to Nanking, as we were organizing the material collected during our trip, we were called upon to investigate the Yü tribe, and so we went to southern Chekiang in the spring and summer of the following year. That autumn Ling Shun-shêng was invited to Yunnan by the Yunnan Board of Education; Ruey Yih-fu was engaged in fingerprinting and body-measurement work. In the autumn of 1935 both of us participated in the Anglo-Chinese Border Commission for the demarcation of the southern section of the Chinese-Burmese frontier, and had to travel to the Yunnan border. Not until the summer of 1936, after our return to Nanking from Yunnan, were we able to utilize part of our time to reorganize and study our material from western Hunan. A year later half of the draft of the present report was completed, when the Lu-kou-ch'iao//Marco Polo Bridge/ incident took place, which disturbed our minds terribly. The writers first followed the Institute's move to Hunan, then to Kwangsi, and finally in 1938 to Yunnan, before we were able to resume writing. At the end of the year the first draft was completed. Last spring and summer the books of the Institute arrived in Yunan, and with the references thus made available we were able to check and revise the first draft, and then to make final copies of the manuscript. By winter the entire work was ready, but Ruey Yih-fu was asked to go to Kweichow to investigate the folk art

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128 on behalf of the Preparatory Office of the National Central Museum, while Ling Shun-shêng was ill for three months. Only this spring were we able to give the revised manuscript the last reading, thus putting an end to the work.

The present report is long on description and short on comparative study, hence it is truthfully entitled "A Report on an Investigation." The first eight chapters were drafted by Ling Shun-shêng, and the three chapters on folklore, folk songs, and language as well as part of the chapter, "Magic and Religion," such as "Huan No Yüan," are the work of Ruey Yih-fu. After the first draft had been completed, we checked each other's sections, making additions. Therefore, we are mutually responsible for the quality of the writing. [127] As to the contents of the book, the first two chapters dealing with history and geography and the sixth and seventh chapters on Miao officials and the t'un system of defense are largely based on historical records and documents. All other chapters are written entirely on the basis of material from investigations, carefully analyzed and discussed, for a faithful presentation. But, unfortunately, the specimens from the field have not as yet arrived in Yunnan; therefore the description of their crafts which must rely upon specimens had to be omitted. Also there are many places in the book where photographs of specimens and explanatory illustrations should have been added, but they were unavailable. It is hoped that these will be added in the second edition, and we again beg the readers' indulgence.

088 Research work in ethnology, according to the Englishman, Malinowski, more than in any other science depends upon the assistance of others. /3/ Our investigative work depended most upon the then divisional commander, Ch'en Yü-ch'iao (Chü-chen) of the army's newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division in western Hunan, who not only facilitated our work but received us royally, and to him we extend our gratitude. We are also grateful to Brigade Commander Tai Chi-t'ao, the head of the western Hunan Department of Village

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000 Administration, Hsü Tzu-lin, the principal of the United Normal
School of the three hsien of Feng, Kan, and Ma, Shih Ai-san
(Hung-kui), the private secretary of the hsien government of
Feng-huang, Wang Yüeh-yen, and the gentry of western Hunan,
such as the gentlemen Messrs. Chen Shao-nan, Chen Tzu-kuang,
Tso Wei-I, Chen Yin-sheng, T'ien Jen-wen, and Liu Tsu-p'ing.
They accompanied us to many Miao villages in the Feng, Kan,
and Sui hsien areas for on-the-spot investigations. In addition
the following persons helped us greatly on the spot: at Fenghuang,
district magistrate Chou Yao-nan and the principal of
the Model Primary School, Liu Fu-lin; at Hsin-chai, Commissioner
T'ang Wen-ju of the Feng, Kan, Sui Three Hsien
Border Pacification Commission; and at Kan-ch'eng, district
magistrate T'ien Yao-liu. Their hospitality and assistance
were deeply appreciated. Among the Miao people we desire
[115] to make special mention of Messrs. Shin Ch'i-kuei, Wu Liangtso,
and Wu Wen-hsiang, who contributed considerable material.

114 Finally, special thanks are due to Yung T'u-heng, who
accompanied us to western Hunan and worked tirelessly. After
his return to Nanking he helped us in arranging part of the material.
The photographs and drawings in this book are all his.

000 The report in its completed form was approved by Director
Fu Meng-chen (Szu-nien) of the Institute. The two chapters,
"Language" and "Folk Songs," were checked by Li Fang-kuei
and Chang Tz'u-yao. To all of them we express our appreciation.

Ling Shun-sheng
Ruey Yih-fu

April 30, 1940
Institute of History and Philology
Pao-t'ai Mountain
Lung-ch'üan Chen
Kunming

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CHAPTER ONE

CHANGES IN NAME OF THE MIAO TRIBE

*101 The name "Miao" is commonly used to refer to the tribal peoples of southwest China in general. Actually, there are today more than one hundred non-Chinese groups with different names scattered over Szechwan, Yunnan, Hunan, Kweichow, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi. After studies made by Chinese and western scholars in the last few decades, these groups have been divided into at least four large categories: 1) the Miao-Yao group, 2) the Ts'ang-Mien /Tibeto-Burman/ group, 3) the T'ai T'an /Thai-shan/ group, and 4) the Meng-chi-mieh /Mon Khmer/ group. The Miao tribe is only one branch of the first group and cannot include all the tribal peoples that exist in the southwest. But as this customary usage of the term has existed for a long time, [illegible] not easy to correct it in a day. Therefore, we can only accept the fact that the term "Miao" has both a broad and a narrow meaning. In the broad sense Miao refers to all the tribal peoples in the southwest; in the narrow sense it refers to the true Miao. (1) The subject of

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1. Torii, Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao /Report of an Investigation of the Miao/ also makes these two distinctions: Miao in a broad sense includes the Miao, Yao, Chuang, Li aborigines, and the Lolo; in a narrow sense it refers to one particular group of Miao. (National Translation Bureau's translation, page 19.)

/1 cont./ The subject of
* 101 study in the present book is the Miao in the narrow sense and
[121] not in the broad sense.

* 101 * 175 Recently, students of the history of the tribal peoples of China refer to the present-day Miao tribe as the descendants of the San Miao of ancient times. This assertion is probably based on the passage in the "Wei Ts'e /History of Wei/" section of Chan Kuo Ts'e /History of the Warring States/, which states: "The San Miao lived to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of P'eng-li Lake." From the geographical point of view, this would seem to be credible, as the San Miao of ancient times and the Miao tribe of today are both south of the Yangtze River; and furthermore the character for Miao is identical. But after the Ch'in and Han dynasties the succession records make no reference to the Miao until the Sung and Yüan dynasties. Therefore, the question of whether the Miao of ancient times and the Miao of today are the same tribe cannot be settled by a simple passage from the Chan Kuo Ts'e or by the use of the same character for the names. Thus, it is necessary to study and clarify at the outset what the name Miao means, /2/ so that we can know the distinction between the ancient Miao and the Miao of today, and the relation between the Miao in the narrow sense and the Miao in the broad sense.

(1) The Ancient San Miao Were Not the Present-day Miao

The name Miao was referred to in the "I Chi" section of the /Shang/ Shu /Book of History/: "The Miao are obstinate and refuse to work"; again in "Lü Hsing": "The widower and the widow took leave of the Miao ...... put blame on the Miao." Also, such terms as "San Miao," "Yu Miao," and "Miao Min" were frequently used in ancient historical records before the Ch'in and Han periods.

"San Miao" appeared in the "Shun Tien" section of Shang Shu: "To expel the San Miao to San Wei ...... to distinguish the northern San Miao"; in "Yü Kung": Having settled in San Wei, the San Miao were prosperous; in the Tso Chuan it was

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*101 stated that in the first year of Chao, "There were San Miao in *175 Yü"; in the "Ch'u Yü" section of Kuo Yü: "Afterwards the San Miao regained the integrity of the Chiu Li; in Han Fei Tzu: "The recalcitrant among the San Miao"; in the "Ch'in Ts'e" section of Chan Kuo Ts'e: "Shun punished the San Miao"; in "Wei Ts'e": "The ancient San Miao lived to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of P'eng-li Lake; and in the "Hai Wai Nan Ching" section of Shan Hai Ching: "The San Miao country is to the east of Ch'ih Shui."

Yu Miao is noted in the Kao T'ao Mu section of Shang Shu: "Why should the Yu Miao migrate?"; in the "Shang T'ung P'ien" section of Motzu: "When the Yu Miao were regulated by the five punishments, order was brought tothe empire; in "I Ping P'ien," of Hsün-tzu: "Shun punished the Yu Miao"; the "Chao Shu-P'ien" of Lu Shih Ch'un-ch'iu: "Shun rejected the Yu Miao in order to change their customs; and in "Chao-Ts'e" of the Chan Kuo Ts'e: "In ancient times Shun regaled /?/ the Yu Miao."

Miao Min /"Miao people"/ is noted in the "Lü Hsing" section of the Shang Shu: "The Miao Min are not intelligent, ... cut off the Miao Min ... but often the Miao Min bandits are found in the prison multitude ... the Miao Min must be penalized."

In the ancient registers the names "San Miao," "Yu Miao," and "Miao Min" actually referred to the Miao. However, the designations "San," "Yu," or "Min" since Han and T'ang times are subject to various explanations. But writers are of the opinion that "San" /"three"/ by no means was limited to refer to "three"; as one and two was not able to represent all /?/, so San /"three"/ was used to represent all the rest /?/. Similarly, the "Chiu" /"nine"/ of Chiu Li certainly was not limited to refer to the number nine, but is used to indicate plurality. (1) The word "Yu" is a prefix, because one character

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1. Explained in Wang Chung's Shih San Chiu /Explanation

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does not make a phrase, and therefore the character "Yû" is added to pair them. (2) "Min" is referred to in the "Ta Ya" of the *Shin Ching*: "Heaven produced all the people /min/"; in "Yao Tien" of the *Shang Shu*: "The Li Min /Li people/ at the time of change were peaceable." /3/

After the Han and T'ang dynasties those who have commented on the classics have for the most part referred to San Miao as the name of a state. As Ma Jung said: "As for the western frontier peoples, San Miao was the name of a state. The descendants of the Chin Yün family were feudal princes: They were the T'ao T'ich. (1) Others took it to be the name of the ruler of the state or the name of the people. For example, Cheng Hsüan said: "Miao Min was the ruler of the Chiu Li, who after the death of Shao Hao /legendary emperor Chin T'ien, ca. 2599 B.C./, abandoned the path of virtue to emulate the harsh punishments of Ch'ih Yu /a legendary rebel/. The reason for calling the Chiu Li Miao Min was this: the Yu Miao were the descendants of Chiu Li. When Chuan Hsü /a legendary ruler of China, B.C. 2513-2435/ took the place of Shao Hao, he killed the Chiu Li and scattered their descendants. Those who settled on the western frontier became the San Miao. After the death of the Emperor Kao Hsin

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/2 cont./ of Three and Nine/, see *Shu Hsüeh*, Vol. 1.

2. Explained in Wang Yin-chih's *Ching Ch'uan Shih Tz'u*, section 3, the entry on the character *Yu*.

1. See Chin dynasty's P'ei Yin: *Shih Chi Chi Chiai*.

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*101 /B.C. 2435-2365/, the wrongdoings of the Chiu Li were renewed. *175 When Emperor Yao /2357-2255 B.C./ came to power they were once more suppressed; and at the end of Yao's rule they again came to court. Shun as Yao's minister drove them away. When Yü /Hsia dynasty, 2205 B.C./ ascended the throne they revolted in the Tung-t'ing area. Yü suppressed them also. Mu Wang (or Hou Wang) hated this people for their generations of evil doings. Therefore he called them "Min." Min is another term for ming /"dark in mind"/, meaning "not yet knowing the ways of humanity."(2)

2. See the introductions by Kung Ying-ta of the T'ang period to the Lü Hsing Su" section in Shang Shu and the "Tzu I Su" section of Li Chi.

Since the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties the Miao of ancient times have been interpreted to be the same as the present-day Miao. As Wang Ming-sheng of the Ch'ing dynasty wrote in the "Lü Hsing" section of his Shang Shu Hou An: "The San Miao are the descendants of the Chiu Li. Now both Li and Miao were names of the Nan Man /southern barbarians/, which it is still so today." Japanese historians have added to and elaborated on this theory. Many contemporary Chinese scholars believe in it without a doubt. Chang Ping-lin at first also subscribed to this view, stating in his Chiu Shu /Collected Works/: "When Huang-ti /the Yellow Emperor, 2698 B.C./ entered China he fought the chief of the aborigines, Ch'ih Yu, at Pan-ch'üan, and exterminated his kind. After the death of Emperor Shao Hao, the Chiu Li rose in rebellion, which was quelled by Emperor Chuan Hsü. When Yao was in power, the San Miao did not submit to the court; they were exterminated and driven to San Wei; but remnants still remained. The state of San Miao was located to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of

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*101 *185 P'eng-li Lake. They did not cultivate virtue and righteousness, and quarreled among themselves. Their people were oppressed and had no one to depend upon. Therefore Yü of the Hsia dynasty chastised them, and the San Miao perished. Thereafter, Li, Yu, and other princes have occupied Ching /one of the nine divisions of the land under Yü, made up of Hunan, most of Hupeh, and part of Kweichow/ and Yüeh /Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces/ up to the present." Mr. Chang later realized that this theory was wrong and so in 1914 when the enlarged Chiu Shu was renamed Chien Lun, he amended his theory. In the first section, "Different Troups," he says: "From the time of Emperor Shen Nung /2838 B.C./ Changsha was already being developed. Huang-ti fought Ch'ih Yu at Cho Lu /Huang-ti's capital/ and exterminated their kind. The long-held notion that Ch'ih Yu was a (present-day) Miao is a mistake. Cho Lu was located in an area which is present-day Hsüan Hua and Pao An, in the extreme north, and could not have had Miao. The present-day Miao were the ancient Mao and were different from the San Miao. In Yao's time, the San Miao did not submit to the court; they were exterminated and driven to San Wei, but remnants still remained. The state of San Miao was located to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and to the right of P'eng-li Lake. They did not cultivate virtue and righteousness and quarreled among themselves. Their people were oppressed and had no one to depend upon. Therefore, Yü of the Hsin dynasty chastised them, and the San Miao perished. These referred to the Hun Tun and Ch'iung Ch'i tribes, and what relation had they with the present-day Miao? The Li and Yu, and other tribes who occupied the /4/ upper and lower reaches of the Tsang-k'o River were the Mao, phonetically changed to Miao, but they were different from the San Miao." The same writer wrote in P'ai Man P'ing I: "If we investigate the origin of the name Miao we find different theories. Those tribes to the south of the Yangtze River were rustic and uncouth. From the Chou to the T'ang dynasties they were generally known as the Man, or separately as the Liao, Li, or Lu Liang, but never as

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*101 the Miao. The name Miao was first used in the Sung dynasty. *195 Clearly it was not a traditional name handed down by the ancientry but one fabricated by scholars who derived it from the name San Miao in the *Shang Shu*. In the Han period the Man people were not called Miao. The *Shang Shu* did not state that the San Miao belonged to the Ching Man tribes. In the *Yü Shu* it was stated that the San Miao were banished to San Wei. Ma Chi-ch'ang said: "San Miao was the name of a state. The descendants of the Chin Yün family were feudal princes. They were the T'ao T'ieh." In the "Hsiu Wu Hsün" section of the *Huai Nan Tzu* Kao Yu annotated: "San Miao referred to the Hun Tun, the descendants of Ti Hung's family; the Ch'iung Ch'i, were the descendants of Shao Hao's family; and the T'ao T'ieh, the descendants of Chin Yün's family. Since they were the descendants of these three clans, they were called the San Miao /i.e., "the three Miao"/. Thus what the scholars of the Han dynasty said about the San Miao being the descendants of gods does not apply to the Miao of today. (1)

1. *Tai-yen Wen Lu*,
first edition, addendum 1.

After Chang those who argued against the theory that the ancient San Miao were today's Miao tribe were many. Among them was Chu Hsi-tsu, who presented much evidence. He says: "San Miao was the name of a state and not that of a race; following is some of the evidence:

> The "Kao T'ao Mo" section of the *Shang Shu*: "If you are wise and kind, why should you love Huan Tou? Why are you banished to Yu Miao? Why should you fear fine words, an insinuating countenance, and artfulness?" The reference to "banish to Yu Miao" points to the expulsion of the San Miao in the *Yao Tien*. San Miao was the name of a state, hence the name Yu Miao. In the *Yü Hsia Shu* the name of a state is always prefixed by the character "*Yu*," such as "Yu Miao" in the "Kao T'ao Mo," "Yu Hu"

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in the *Kan Shih*. The name of a tribe is not prefixed by "Yu"; we never hear of "Yu Jung," "Yu Ti," "Yu Man," or "Yu I."

According to the *Tso Ch'uan* in the first year of Chao during the Ch'un Ch'iu period, "Chao Meng said: 'The commands of the princely leader were extended to the feudal fiefs, proclaimed on the banners, and codified into laws. Punishments were meted out to wrongdoers. But still there was no unification. Thus in the Yü period there were San Miao; in the Hsia period, there were Kuan and Hu; in the Shang period there were Hsien and P'i; and in the Chou period there were Hsü and An. Since the time of the absence of a princely leader, the feudal lords struggled for power, showing contempt for the king and making alliances themselves, so how could there be unification? As Kwan and Hu of Hsia, Hsien and P'i of Shang, Hsu and An of Chou were the states of the feudal lords, therefore, it is without doubt that San Miao of Yü was also a state of a feudal lord.

/5/ According to the biography of Wu Ch'i in the *Shih Chi*, "Wu Ch'i said to Marquis Wei Wu: 'Formerly, the San Miao who lived to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and the right of P'eng-li Lake did not cultivate virtue and righteousness, and were destroyed by Yü. Chien of the Hsia period, whose domain embraced the regions to the left of the Ho-chi and to the right of the T'ai and the Hwa, to the north of I-ch'üeh and the south of Yang-chang, was not humane in his administration. He was deposed by T'ang /founder of the Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C./ The state of King Chou of the Yin /i.e. Shang/ dynasty was to the left of Meng-men, to the right of T'ai-hsing, to the south of Ch'ang-shan and to the north of Ta-ho. He was not virtuous in his administration, and King Wu killed him.'" According to the above, San Miao, King Chieh of the Hsia dynasty, King Chou of the Yin dynasty were given as examples together, indicating they were all rulers of kingdoms.

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*101 Furthermore, San Miao as a state was destroyed by Yü; *175 had it been a race, then inasmuch as they are stated to have been destroyed, how would there be any descendants left today? (1)

[113] 1. Rebuttal against the argument that the Chinese were preceded by the Miao in China, National University of Peking Monthly Publication, Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 113-27.

From the above citations we understand that San Miao was a name of a state and not of a race /chung tsu/, and far less the name of the Miao people today. But a state must be peopled. What was the original race that peopled San Miao? According to the previous quotation from Cheng Hsüan, they were the Chiu Li. Those descendants of Chiu Li who scattered to the western frontier were known as the San Miao. Therefore, Ma Yung said that the San Miao were western frontier people, descendants of Chin Yün. (See previous citation.) Chia K'uei said in an annotation of the History of the Five Emperors in the Shih Chi: "Chin Yün, surnamed Chiang, was a descendant of Yen-ti." Fan Hua said in the history of the Hsi Ch'iang in the Hou Han Shu: "The Hsi Ch'iang /western Ch'iang/ derive from San Miao, Chiang being another surname. Their country was located near Nan Yüeh, and when Shun sent into exile the four wicked men, they were sent to San Wei, which is the present Ch'iang country, southwest of the Yellow River pass." According to this, the ancient San Miao were descendants of Yen-ti /Emperor Yen/, whose ruling family was surnamed Chiang, and who were the ancestors of the Hsi Ch'iang.

The ancient state of San Miao, according to old records, had an extensive area. The "Wei Ts'e" section of the Chan Kuo Ts'e says: "Formerly, the San Miao's domain was to the left of the waves of P'eng-li Lake and to the right of the waters of

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Tung-t'ing Lake, to the north of Wen Shan and south of Heng Shan." Han Fei-Tzu says: "The recalcitrant San Miao were to the north of Heng Shan, to the south of the Min River, to the left of Tung-t'ing Lake and the right of P'eng-li Lake." Han Shih Wai Chuan says: "At the time of Yao, there were recalcitrant Miao, who were to the north of Heng Shan, to the south of Ch'i Shan, to the left of the waves of Tung-t'ing and to the right of the waters of P'eng-li." Wu Ch'i's biography in the Shih Chi says: "The San Miao clan were to the left of Tung-t'ing and the right of P'eng-li." Again, in the biographies of the Five Emperors: "The San Miao revolted several times at Chiang, Huai, and Ching-chou." Within this extensive region there were probably many indigenous tribes, but the most important, according to old sources, were the Chiu Li. The ruler of the Chiu Li, during the time of Shao Hao, was Ch'ih Yu. (2) During the time of Yao the T'ang period there was a Miao Min. Ch'ih Yu and Miao Min were /6/ rulers of Chiu Li at different times. Those they governed were the same Chiu Li. This is quite clear according to the explanations of Ma and Cheng given above. Kuo P'o annotated the entry on San Miao state in "Hai Wai Nan Ching" of Shan Hai Ching as follows: Formerly when Yao abdicated in favor of Shun, the ruler of San Miao objected; whereupon the emperor killed him. The people of Yu Miao rebelled and migrated to Nan Hai." Thus the division between ruler and governed became clearer. It can also be dimly seen that the ruler and the people of San Miao were not of the same tribe /tsu/.

2. Explanatory notes to the Shang Shu by Lu Te-ming of the T'ang dynasty, quotes Ma Yung: "Ch'ih Yu was the name of the ruler of Chiu Li at the end of the reign of Shao Hao.

HAINAN AE2
YAO AE6

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(2) The Ancient Chiu Li Are the Present-day Li

In the foregoing section we have ascertained that the present-day Miao were not the ancient Miao or San Miao, but that the San Miao people were Chiu Li. We shall now ascertain whether the present-day Miao were not the ancient Chiu Li. Recently, Lü Szu-mien theorized that the ancient Chiu Li were the Man of later times, and that the pronunciation of the word "Man" was further changed to Miao. Lü states: "The word Miao derived from the changed pronunciation of man ...... The original name of the present-day Miao was Li." (1) To take "Miao" as "Man" may be explained by the change in pronunciation; but we do not know upon what basis he makes his assertion that the original name of Miao was Li. We know that the Li, Man, and Miao, in the light of present knowledge, are totally different and cannot be considered as one and the same tribe /tsu lei/.

According to ancient records, before the Three Dynasties the geographical distribution of ethnic groups /min tsu/ in south China was as follows: south of the Yangtze River the Chiu Li were the strongest, occupying the area between Tung-t'ing and P'eng-li lakes. West of Ching-chou were the Man, and west of the Man, the Mao. The Man became strong and prosperous during the Ch'un Ch'iu period, gradually migrating southeast, to invade the area between Tung-t'ing and P'eng-li lakes. The Chiu Li retreated south of the Five Mountain Ranges /Wuling/ in the territory of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The Mao remained west of the Man, migrating from Hupeh to Szechwan and thence to Kweichow, becoming known as the Miao during the time between the Sung and Yüan dynasties. (To be explained later.)

1. Lü Szu-mien: Chung-kuo Min-tsu Shih /A History of the Peoples of China/, p. 195.

HAINAN AE2
YAO AE6

/6 cont./

M The native people in Kwangtung before the emigration of
*101 the Chinese were the Li /俚 /, hence the tribes in Lingnan
*175 /another name for Kwangtung/ during the Han and T'ang
H dynasties were all known as Li /里/. The section "Nan Man
101 Ch'uan /Records of the Southern Man Tribes/" in Hou Han Shu
175 /History of the Later Han Dynasty/ says: "In the twelfth year
Y of Chien Wu /36 A.D./, the Man and the Li /里/ beyond the
[101 frontiers of Chiu-chen, submitted voluntarily under the leader-
175] ship of Chang Yu, who was enfeoffed as the ruler of the Li."
The commentary says: "Li /里/ was another name for Man,
known today as the Li /俚 / people." Again, during the
sixteenth year of Chien Wu /40 A.D./, a woman of Chiao-chih
/Cochin China/, Cheng-ts'e, and her younger sister, Cheng-
erh, revolted .... the Man and Li /里/ at Chiu-chen, Jih-
nan, and Ho-p'u joined them." Chang Hua says in the Pu Wu
Chih: "The barbarous tribes at Chiao-chou were called Li-tzu
俚子/." /7/ The section on geography in the Sui Shu says:
"The Li /俚 / and the Liao among the 20 or more groups in
Y Lingnan made drums from brass." Again, describing customs
[101 at Yang-chou it says: "South of the mountains the Li /俚 /
175] people were straightforward and trustworthy, the Man were
brave and independent." The Li /里 / and Li /俚 / re-
ferred to above are both the Li /黎 /, who were also the
Chiu Li of ancient times, the characters used being different
but the pronunciation being the same. The "Chiu /nine/" in
Chiu Li means "numerous." (1) The Chiu Li migrated from

1. See page 3 above, the discussion on the "San" of "San Miao."

south of the Yangtze River, across the Five Mountain Ranges through Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and then settled down on present-day Hainan Island. Recent investigators are also of the opinion that the present-day Li on Hainan Island are emigrants

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YAO AE6

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*101 from the continent. They belong to the same race as the Thai
*175 and the Shan, forming one related group with the Chuang-jen
H and the Tu-jen in present-day Kwangsi, the Pai-i and the Nung-
101 jen in Yunnan. They are neither Man nor Miao.
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(3) The Ancient "Man" Are the Present-day Yao and Yü

M From the above investigation we can see that the present-
*101 day Miao are also not the ancient Chiu Li. But Miao and Man
*175 have a phonetic resemblance according not only to Mr. Lü but
Y also Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao by Torii Ryūzō and to the
recently published Chung-kuo Min-tsu Shih /History of the People
101 of China/ by Lin Hui-hsiang. (2) The present writers have stated
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previously that in the light of current materials the two are not of the same tribe. We will now elaborate on this theory.

The name "Man" has both a narrow and a broad meaning. The name Man in its broad sense is identical with Miao in its broad sense. Before the T'ang dynasty the term Man was used most frequently; after the Sung dynasty, the term Miao was used, or else both terms were used interchangeably. In the narrow sense the Man say they are the descendants of P'an Hu, and may be called the P'an Hu tribe, but the modern names are not uniform. Those who are distributed in Hunan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Yunnan are the Yao; those in Fukien and Chekiang are the Yü. Only those in northern Tonkin, Indochina /Chinese Annan/, still call themselves "Man"; but they are known to the Chinese as Yao. For instance, the Ta Pan Yao call themselves "Man Coc," (3) the Hsiao Pan Yao, "Man

2. See page 188, Vol. II, Ling's book.

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[113] 3. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional /Ethnography of Northern Tonkin/, pp. 216-17.

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M *101 *175 Y 101 175 Tien," (4) the Lan Tien Yao, "Man Lan Tien," (5) etc., etc.

4. Same, p. 250.

5. Same, pp. 258-59.

/8/ Before the Three Dynasties the Man lived southwest of Honan. In the "Chao Lei" section of Lü Lan it is stated: "Emperor Yao fought along the banks of the Tan Shui and subdued the Nan Man." Kao Yu annotated: "The Tan Shui is in Nan-yang." By the Chou period the tribe was flourishing and occupied the Yangtze and the Han River reaches, and were known as the Ching Man. In "Shao Ya" of Shih Ching it says: "The Man Ching are stirring to war against our great nation." In the Han period there were the Wu Ling Man at Changsha. At the beginning of the T'ang dynasty the name Man was dropped, and they became known as the Mo Yao. During the Sung period they were called the Man Yao or the Yao Jen /Yao people/. At that time this tribe had crossed the Five Mountain Range and gone south, scattering in the Kwangtung and Kwangsi region. Afterward two branches were formed. The one in the east emigrated from Kwangtung to Fukien and Chekiang and were called the Yü. The western branch went from Kwangsi to the Yunnan-Indochinese border region, retaining their old name of Man up to now. Those who remained in Hunan and Kwangsi are still known as Yao. The writers in the course of their investigations have personally seen that among the Yü in Chekiang, the Yao in Kwangsi, and the Man in the Yunnan-Indochinese border region, in their homes they still make offerings to the ancestral tablet of "The Loyal and Brave Y [197] King enfeoffed by Kao Hsin" in the same way they believe in and serve the P'an Hu totem. (1) When we come to the language

Y [113] 1. See Ling Shun-sheng: Che Nan Yü Min T'u-t'eng Wen-hua te Yen-chiu /A

2:Ling & Ruey--15 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5 YAO AE6

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Study of the Totem Culture
of the Yü in Southern
Chekiang/, Jen-lei Hsüeh
Chi K'an /Anthropological
Review/, Vol. 1, No. 2.

[113]
[197]

they speak, except for the Yü, whose language is very closely related to Hakka, the languages of the Yao and Man are more or less alike. That they are of the same tribe is beyond a doubt.

(4) The Present-day Miao Were the Ancient Mao

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The theory that the present-day Miao were the ancient Mao was introduced by Chang Ping-lin. (See previous citation from Chien Lun). But he only said: "The Li, Yu, and other tribes who occupied the upper and lower reaches of the Tsang-K'o River were the Mao, phonetically changed to Miao." Besides this he gives no other evidence. To confuse the Li and Yu with the Miao particularly violates the facts. The name "Mao" appears in the following ancient books. The poem "Chüeh Kung" in the Shih Ching: "Like the Man and like the Mao." The "Mu Shih" section in the Shang Shu: "... and Yung, Shu, Ch'iang, Mao, Wei, Lu, P'eng, and Pu tribes." Kung Ying-ta in the Shang Shu Cheng I says: "That Mao /髳/ and this Mao /髦/ are the same in sound and meaning." The Mao commentary in the Shih Ching says: "The Mao are the barbarian Mao tribe." Cheng's Chien: "Mao, another name for the western barbarians." Again, in the entry for the first year of Ch'eng in the Ch'un Ch'iu: "The royal army was defeated by the Mao Jung." In Kung Yang Ch'uan, Mao Jung 茅戎/ was written Mao Jung /貿戎/. Mao /茅/, Mao /貿/, Mao /髦/ and Mao /髳/ are actually different characters with the same sound. As to their domain in ancient times, the entry for the third year of King Wen's reign in the Tso Ch'uan states: "The Earl of Ch'in invaded Chin, crossing the Yellow River and burning the boats. He took Wang

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*101 *175 Kuan and its vicinity. The people of Chin did not come out. He therefore crossed the river at Mao-chin, honored the dead of Hsiao, and returned." The Shui Ching Chu states: "T'o-shui /River/ flowing in the northwest, passes to the west of Shan-ch'eng, and empties northwesterly into the Yellow River. North of the Yellow River it faces Mao-ch'eng. Mao-ch'eng, which was the ancient Mao-t'ing, Mao Jung region. Kung Yang says: "Chin /晉/ defeated them at Ta-yang, /9/ and the name of the ford was taken from this." Mao-chin is the present-day Ta-yang-tu, situated two li southwest of P'ing-lu Hsien, Shansi. On the opposite bank is Shen Hsien, Honan. From this it is apparent that the territory of the Mao during the Ch'un Ch'iu period was in the present-day region of P'ing-lu Hsien, Shansi, to the north of Shen Hsien, Honan. But according to "Kung Ch'uan" in Shang Shu: "The Mao and Wei are in Pa-Shu /Szechwan/." The Shih Chi Chou Pan Chi Cheng I quoting from the K'uo Ti Chih says: "To the south of Yao-fu was the land of the ancient state of Mao, where Mao-chou was situated." Yao-fu during the T'ang period evidently referred to the governor-general's seat at Yao-chou, located north of modern Yao-an Hsien, Yunnan. The K'uo Ti Chih seems to contain an error. The geographical section of the Hsin T'ang Shu says: "Mao-chou was Yüeh-sui Prefecture of the Han dynasty, which was contiguous in the south with Yao-chou." Thus Mao-chou was to the north of Yao-chou, the Yüeh-sui Prefecture of Han times, which is the present site of Hsi-ch'ang in Szechwan. But, as Pa, Shu, and Yüeh-sui were quite distant from the area of the Mao during the Ch'un Ch'iu period, we may deduce from this the southwesterly migration of the Mao tribe. Probably, after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, on account of the disturbances during the Chan Kuo period and the conflict between Ch'u and Han, the Mao tribe gradually migrated from Chin and Yüeh to Pa and Shu /in present Szechwan/ and from there to Yüeh-sui. The Shih Ching refers to the Man and the Mao, because

Y [101] [175] at that time the territories of the Man and the Mao were contiguous. The Mao were to the west of the Man, hence they

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were known as the western barbarians in the /Mao Shih/ Chien of Cheng /Hsüan/. From the Chou to the T'ang dynasty the Man tribe flourished, and therefore history only recorced the Man and not the Mao. "Man" gradually became the general term for all the aborigines in the southwest. For instance, there are sections on the Nan Man in the Hou Han Shu and the T'ang Shu; Fan Ch'o wrote the Man Shu; and the Sung Shih only contains a section on the Man I /Man barbarians/. The name "Mao" was covered up by the name "Man," and disappeared for more than a thousand years. Some thought that the Mao had emigrated from Yüeh-sui to what is now Kweichow. Since Kweichow was the latest to be developed among the Chinese provinces, it possesses few literary records, and the name "Mao" does not appear in them. By the Sung and Yüan dynasties, Kweichow had been gradually opened up, and for this reason the long-time Mao /髳 / inhabitants of Kweichow reappeared as Mao /猫 / /also pronounced Miao/ to the world through a phonetic change. (1) The preface by Yeh Ch'ien for

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the book Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao by Chu Fu in the Sung period says:

> "The Man of Wu-ch'i all belong to the P'an Hu tribe. Their villages are separate, and their names also differ. Yüan is their old territory; living within its boundaries at present are five groups: the Mao /猫 /, the Yao, the Liao, the Chuang, and the Ch'i Lao. Their customs and habits are more or less similar."

1. The tenth volume of Man Shu by Fan Ch'o in the T'ang period refers to "The Miao of the four cities of Ch'ien, Ching, Pa, and Hsia," but the "Miao" here is not used in the narrow sense.

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*101 *175 Yeh Ch'ien did not know the route of migration of the Mao, and therefore said that Yüan was their old territory. In fact the Mao at Yüan had emigrated from Kweichow. The word Mao /猫/ was written Mao /貓/ in the biography of the Emperor Shih Tsu in the Yüan Shih. In the first lunar month of the twenty-ninth year of Chih Yüan /1292/ it was noted: "Following the request of Sung Tzu-hsien, the Commissioner for the Pacification of the Ko Man, an imperial edict was issued to the Mao Man of P'ing-fa, Ta-weng-yen, Tzu-chiang, T'an-ch'i, and Chiu-Pao, who had not yet submitted to the government." /10/ Again, in the second month: "Wo Lo-szu received the submission of the Sheng Mao of Sang-chou." But in the biographies of Emperor T'ai Ting and Wen Tsung the character "Miao" was used. The second month of the second year of T'ai Ting /1325/ it is recorded: "On the twenty-ninth day the chieftain of the P'ing Fa Miao, named Te Niang, surrendered with a hundred thousand families." Again, in the second month of the third year of Chih Shun /1332/ during the reign of Wen Tsung: "On the first day of the month the Miao and Man of Pa-fan came and paid tribute." Coming to the Ming dynasty, which continued, as had the Yüan dynasty, to conduct campaigns in Kweichow, there are many more references to the Miao. In Volume 110 of the Ta Ming Hui Tien there is the term "Miao tribes." In Volume 88 of the Ta Ming I T'ung Chih in the section on the office of the Kweichow provincial governor, there are all kinds of references to the Miao tribe. For instance in the entry for T'ung-jen-fu: "The Miao people are aggressive and contemptuous of life, carrying swords and weapons all the time"; for Yung-ning-chou: "There are five kinds of barbarians with dissimilar customs, the Chung Chia, the Lo Kuei, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, and the Lung Chia"; for the P'ing-Yüeh Commandery: "The thickly forested wasteland of the Miao and Man." During the Ch'ing Dynasty Miao disturbances continued unabated. The meaning of the term Miao emerged from the narrow to a broader sense. Miao and Man became the general terms for tribal peoples in

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*101 *175 the southwest. As Wei Yüan says: "Those tribes that do not have chiefs and have no political jurisdiction over each other are the Miao; those whose chiefs occupied a definite territory are the Man. For instance, the Chuang and the Li of Kwangtung, the Yao of Hunan and Kweichow, the P'o and the Sheng Fan of Szechwan, the Lo and the Yeh Jen of Yunnan — all are without chiefs and do not rule over each other. Are they Miao?" (1) Wei Yüan's reference to the Miao is Miao in the broad sense used in this book.

*101 Today's pure Miao, or Miao in the narrow sense, call themselves "[muŋ]." The following are the results of investigations of Chinese and European scholars:

(1) H. Parker: "The Miao tribe is known as Hmung." (2)

(2) Paul Vial: "The Miao in Kweichow are known in the Miao language as Hmong and are divided into several branches: the Kan Miao (Hmong Sha), the Hei Miao (Hmong-tlo), the Hua Miao (Hmong-dou), and the Pai Miao (Hmong-bea), etc.(3)

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[113] 1. Wei Yüan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 7, on the Record of Migration of the I in the southwest during the reign of Yung Cheng. According to Ch'ing Shih Kao, Tu Szu Ch'uan, the term Miao includes the Chuang, Li, Yao, Lolo, Sheng Fan, Yeh Jen, etc., as Wei Yüan would have it.

[113] 2. H. Parker: Up the Yang-tse, p. 272.

[113] 3. P. Vial, Les Lolos, p. 35-36.

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*101 (3) Torii Ryūzō: "The Ch'ing-yen Hua Miao (mu), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of An-shun (mún), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of Mi-lùh (mún), the Hua Miao in the vicinity of Wu-ting (Amón), the Ch'ing Miao in the vicinity of Ch'ing-yen (mon), the /11/ Pai Miao in the vicinity of Ch'ing-yen (mōn), the Hei Miao in the vicinity of Shih-p'ing (Háw), the Ta T'ieh Miao at Ting-fan (^{n}Hun)." (1)

[113] 1. Torii, Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (National Translation Bureau's translation), p. 16.

(4) Lunet de Lajonquière: "The Miao in the northern section of Tonkin, Indochina, consists of the Pai Miao, the Hei Miao, the Hung Miao, the Hua Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, the Han Miao, the Kao-shan Miao, and the P'ing-ti Miao. They called themselves "mung" or "h'mung." (2)

[113] 2. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional, pp. 296-301.

(5) In the course of their investigations at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the writers noted that the Han Miao called themselves [muŋ sua], the Hei Miao, [muŋ tʂero], the Hua Miao, [muŋ dzu], the Ch'ing Miao, [muŋ ɕi]. Moreover, the Hung Miao in western Hunan called themselves [ɕioŋ].

Considering all the self-designations of the Miao themselves as recorded by various authorities, except for Háw and ^{n}Hun, [ɕioŋ]. (Torii believes that Háw and ^{n}Hun derive from mun and mon. The present writers are of the opinion that they are more likely a derivation from [ɕioŋ]. The meaning of [ɕioŋ] will be given below.) The majority are [muŋ] or close to [muŋ]. The Mao 髦 / and Mao 髳 / of ancient times,

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*101 according to previous quotations from the Shang Shu and Mao
*175 Shih, have the same sound and meaning. According to the Chi Yün, Mao /髦/ and Mao /髳/ are pronounced mou. But according to Kwang Yün, Cheng-Yün, Mao is pronounced mung. According to the Chi Yün, Yün-hui, it is meng, which is fairly close to [muŋ]. [Muŋ] is actually the transformation of Mao /髦/ or Mao /髳/ in sound. During the period between the Sung and the Yüan dynasties this tribe who called themselves [muŋ] and were long-time inhabitants of Kweichow gradually came into close contact with the Chinese. Not knowing that they were the Mao /髦/ or Mao /髳/ of ancient times and because they called themselves something which sounded like Mao /猫/ or /貓/ /"cat"/, the Chinese quickly gave them this name by way of contempt. Some mistook the people who called themselves [muŋ] to be descendants of the San Miao of ancient times, and called them "Miao /苗/." The character Mao /貓/ used in the citation from Ch'i Man Ts'ung Hsiao given above, and the Mao /猫/ or Miao /苗/ in the Yüan Shih are due to the same reason. Since the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties people have incorrectly inferred that the Miao of ancient times are identical with the present-day Miao, and so the characters Mao /猫/ or /貓/ are no longer used. The name Miao /苗/ has thus become established.

(5) The Hung Miao Call Themselves "Kuo Hsiung" [ko˦ çioŋ˥˧]
A Tentative Explanation.

/12/ In the chapter on Miao customs in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Yen Ju-yü says: "The Miao are called Kuo Hsiung." In the course of their investigations in western Hunan the authors found that the Miao called themselves [ko˦ pioŋ˥˧], which is similar to the name recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan but different from the [muŋ] given above as the self-designation of many Miao. For this reason the writers entertain

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*101 *175 the thought that the people who call themselves [ɕioŋ˦˧] and those who call themselves [muŋ] are not of the same origin. Or even if they are of the same origin, there must have been two different names adopted in ancient times. The Hung Miao call themselves [ko˧ ɕioŋ˦˧]. [ko˧] is a prefix and [ɕioŋ˦˧] the name proper. But another meaning of [ko˧ ɕioŋ˦˧] is "bamboo tube." (1) For this reason the writers suspect that there is a relation between [ɕioŋ˦˧] and the Bamboo King /Chu Wang/.

*101 *175 173 The story of the Bamboo King was reported earliest in "Nan Chung Chih" of Hua-yang Kuo chih by Ch'ang Ch'ü in the Chin period. The story is as follows: "The Bamboo King arose in the Tun-shui region. A girl was bathing in the river when a large bamboo with three nodes flowed in between her legs. She pushed it away, but the bamboo refused to move. Suddenly she heard a child crying inside. She took the bamboo home and broke it open and found a baby boy, who grew up to be a talented and brave man, and led the barbarians. He took "Chu" /bamboo/ as his surname, and threw away the broken bamboo in the wilderness, where it grew into a bamboo grove, which is the present-day bamboo grove of the Temple of the Bamboo King. The King went one day with his followers to a great rock, where he asked for soup. His followers replied that there was no water; whereupon he hit the rock with a double-edged sword. Water gushed forth, forming the present-day Bamboo King River. The broken rock still remains....Emperor Wu-ti made T'ang Meng a military commander to annex the Tsang-kou region. Valuable gifts were given to various tribal kings who submitted to the Emperor. The Bamboo King was executed. Tsang-kou was made a prefecture, and Wu Pa the prefect. The prefectures of Yüeh-hsi, Chu-t'i, and I-chou were also established. After-

1. A magic instrument used by Miao sorcerers, see Illus. 65.

/12 cont./
*101 ward, the I and P'u tribes came to the city and complained
*175 that their Bamboo King had not been born of blood and flesh
and asked that a family line be set up. Pa enfeoffed his third
173 son as a marquis. At his death he was included in the sacrifice
[776] to his father's ancestors. At present he is worshipped as the
spirit of the third son of the Bamboo King." The Hou han Shu
also gives an account of this story in the Hsi Nan I Ch'uan
/History of the Barbarians in the Southwest/: "Yeh Lang was
first found by a girl bathing in the Tun-Shui River. A large
bamboo with three nodes flowed between her legs. She heard
someone crying inside and when she broke open the bamboo,
she found a baby boy. She brought him home and reared him.
When he grew up into a talented and brave man, he established
himself as the Marquis Yeh Lang and took Chu /bamboo/ as
his surname. In the sixth year of Yüan Ting /III/ Emperor
Wu-ti subjugated the southern barbarians and established Tsang-kou prefecture. The Marquis Yeh Lang surrendered. The
Emperor issued the official seal to him, and later executed him.
The I and the Liao tribes believing that the Bamboo King had
not been born from flesh and blood and greatly respecting him,
asked that a line of descendants be set up. The prefect of
Tsang-kou, Wu Pa, reported this to the Emperor, who enfeoffed
his /Bamboo King's/ son as a marquis. At his death, he was
[776] included in the sacrifice to his father. He is the spirit of the
third son of the Bamboo King as worshiped today in Yeh-lang
Hsien." The account recorded in the Hou Han Shu is based
*101 upon the Hua-yang Kuo Chih but the two stories differ slightly.
*175 The latter mentions the Bamboo King as leading the barbarians,
but the former says that he made himself Marquis Yeh Lang.
Yeh Lang, according to the Chih, surrendered to Ch'u during
the last days of the Chou Dynasty. Nan Chung Chih says: /13/
"Toward the close of the Chou dynasty Hui Wang of Ch'u
(Ch'ing Hsiang Wang according to Hou Han Shu) despatched
General Chuang Ch'iao (Hao according to Hou Han Shu) up the
Yüan-shui River to Ch'ieh-lang in order to subjugate Yeh Lang.

/13 cont./

*101 *175 to set up at Tsang-kou and attack his boats. Thus Ch'ieh-lang was conquered; Yeh Lang surrendered. But Ch'in had taken Ch'u's territory in Kweichow, and the route of retreat was cut. So Chuang Ch'iao remained at Tien-ch'ih Lake as king. He was a Miao descendant of Chuang Wang of Ch'u. Because the boats were attacked in Tsang-kou, Ch'ien-lang was named the state of Tsang-kou. The various lineages were enfeoffed and lasted for several hundred years. When Ch'in absorbed Shu, the road was widened and officials were appointed to administer it. When the Han dynasty rose, they no longer submitted." From this we may be sure that the state of Yeh Lang existed in Kweichow toward the end of the Chou dynasty. Afterward, although it surrendered to Ch'u, it still remained as one of the dukedoms in the state of Tsang-kou, lasting for several hundred years more. When Ch'u was conquered by Ch'in, it still owed allegiance to the latter. After the rise of the Han dynasty, it became separated from China. The reference in Hou Han Shu to the Bamboo King setting himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang must have some foundation. From this it may be inferred that the Bamboo King could be the state of Yeh Lang /sic/ or a descendant of its people.

The ancient state of Yeh Lang was located in southern Szechwan. Ying Chao is cited under Chien-wei prefecture in the geographical section of the Han Shu: "The ancient state of Yeh Lang." Probably, toward the close of the Chou dynasty the state moved from Chien-wei to Kweichow and then was conquered by Ch'u. The route of its migration was almost similar to that of the Mao who came from Yüeh-hsi to Kweichow. The descendants of Yeh Lang and the Bamboo King and those of the Mao, having lived together for a long time became similar in many respects. Therefore, the growing number of Chinese in contact with them called them all Miao, regardless whether they were the self-designated [muŋ], the descendants of the Mao, or the people who called themselves [ɕioŋ˥], the descendants of the Bamboo King. But they did have a separate

/13 cont./

*101 name for the people who wore red belts, whom they called the
*175 Hung /"red"/ Miao. (1)

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1. Yen Ju-yü in Miao Fang-pei Lan Feng-su K'ao /A Study of Miao Customs/ says: "Those who wear red belts are the Hung Miao." According to Torii Ryūzō in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao: Those who wear red clothes are the Hung Miao. Actually the present-day Hung Miao in western Hunan no longer wear red clothes nor red belts. Previously they might have had this custom, but today it is no longer practical. [291]

*175 776 The spirit most venerated by the Hung Miao today is Pai Ti T'ien Wang, who also is one of three brothers. According to the Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih /Annals of Lu-ch'i Hsien/: "The boy found in the bamboo as recorded in the story of the southwest barbarians in Hou Han Shu grew up to be the Marquis Yeh Lang and was killed by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty. His three sons were all respected by the southern barbarians, and among them the third was the bravest. Posterity regarded the Bamboo King, since he was not born of flesh and blood, as a spirit [778] and built a temple in his honor. Today, the idol, San Lang, worshiped in the temples, has the fiercest appearance and is held most in awe by the Miao. It must be the spirit of the third son. The Yung-sui T'ing Chih also says: "Large T'ien Wang [346] /heavenly king/ temples are found in all localities, of which the one at Ch'ao-shui-ch'i is the oldest. This is the Ch'ao-shui-c'hi of Wei-ch'eng. The present-day Ch'ao-shui-ch'i has

/13 cont//

*175 no temple at all. But the one most honored by the people is in 776 Ch'u-shan-yu." T'ien Wang was one of three brothers; the [346] Bamboo King had three sons; the Bamboo King Temple is in /14/ Ch'u Lin /Bamboo Grove/; and the most respected T'ien Wang temple is also in Ch'u-shan-ao /Bamboo Hill Cave/. Since there are these several similar points recorded, then the deductions reached in the *Lu-ch'i Hsien Chih* are not without basis.

*101 In the foregoing we deduce from the pronunciation and *175 meaning of /ko˥ φioŋ˧˥/, a name which the Hung Miao give themselves, that they are probably the descendants of the Bamboo King. Also, because the *Hou Han Shu* states that the Bamboo King set himself up as Marquis Yeh Lang, we deduce that the Bamboo King of the Han dynasty was probably the descendant of /the Marquis/ Yeh Lang toward the close of the Chou dynasty. At present data are inadequate, and we cannot say for certain. We shall have more to say when new data become available in the future.

/15/ CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO

131 Today the Miao are scattered over the southwestern provinces of China and reach as far as the Indochinese peninsula, thus covering a very wide area of distribution. But the density [161] of the Miao population varies with different areas, that in Kweichow being the greatest. Hence it can be considered the 173 center of the Miao, and even those now found in other areas 167 all claim to have migrated from Kweichow. For this reason Kweichow is generally considered to be the original home of the Miao. Ting Wen-chiang says that the old home of the *[101] Miao is in eastern Kweichow and western Hunan. (1) But

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[113] 1. Ting, Wen-chiang: "Man Yu San Chi" /Miscellaneous Notes on a Rambling Trip/," Tu Li P'ing Lun /Independent Review/, No. 8.

*[101] according to the Englishman, S.R. Clarke, who came to the conclusion after 20 years of investigation in Kweichow, the indigenous peoples of Kweichow are the Ch'i Lao not the Miao, the latter having immigrated from elsewhere. (2) As a result

[113] 2. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, p. 13.

of his study of Miao migration legends, the Frenchman, F.M. S Savina, concluded that when the Miao first arrived in China they lived in Honan, whence they emigrated to Kweichow, next to Szechwan, Yunnan, Tonkin, and to Laos. (3) This

[113] 3. F.M. Savina: Histoires des Miao /Miao Stories/, p. 247.

corresponds roughly to the above-mentioned theory that the Mao tribe emigrated from Shansi to Honan, then to Szechwan, to Yüeh-hsi, and to Kweichow, except that Mr. Savina has *[101] the order of Szechwan and Kweichow reversed. This is more evidence that the present-day Miao are not the ancient San Miao, as the location of the ancient San Miao was between Tung-t'ing and Peng-li lakes, which are not mentioned in the Miao legends.

The trend of Miao migration since the time of recorded history has been as stated above. As to their moves in the

/15 cont./

173 prehistoric period, F.M. Savina states in his Histoires des Miao
167 that the Miao must have been in the Arctic region on the basis of legends still prevalent among the Miao today. According to the legends, the Miao forefathers had lived in the opposite region of the earth, where the winter was very long and in a year there were six months of daylight and another six months of darkness, where the water was always frozen and the earth was covered with snow, where vegetation was small and sparse and human beings were short and small and wore skin and fur clothes. (4) Savina moreover advanced the hypothesis that the Miao's place of origin was the area between the Pamir highland and the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. (5) Based upon the above-stated references to Honan, the Artic, and the Iranian Plateau, /16/ Savina concluded that the Miao came from Mesopotamia, moved eastward until stopped by the Pamir highlands, and were diverted therefrom northeastward through Turkestan and along the western ranges of the Ural Mountains to the Polar region above 60 degrees north latitude, and then veered southeastward through Siberia, Mongolia, and Shensi, reaching Honan at last. (1) This theory, being based purely upon oral legends of the Miao, is not based on sufficient evidence. If these legends came in from another tribe, then this theory is completely invalidated. At most we can only consider it a hypothesis.

4. Same as above,
pp. 115-19.

5. Same as above.

1. F.M. Savina:
Histoires des Miao,
pp. 115-19.

M 131 /16 cont./

We may divide the present distribution of the Miao tribe into seven areas, namely, Kweichow, Huhan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, Yunnan, Indochina /Yüeh/, and Burma, as follows:

M *101 c 563 Kweichow. — There are 82 subgroups of the Miao in Kweichow, according to Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo. (2) But among

M *101 113 c 563 2. Ch'ien Miao T'u Shuo /Pictures of the Miao in Kweichow with Explanatory Text/ compiled by Chen Hao, a sub-prefect in charge of Miao affairs at Pa Fan, according to Ch'ing Chi /Kweichow Record/ by Li Tsung-fang of the Ch'ing period. The woodcut edition is rare, but there are many hand-copied, hand-drawn editions under various names. There are 82 subgroups according to what is recorded by the Japanese, Torii Ryūzō, in his Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao (see Chapter II); and given in the Englishman E.C. Bridgman's Translation of Sketches of the Miao-tsze, Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. III, pp. 1-26; and George W. Clarke's Translation of a Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chow Miao-tzu, Appendix of Archibald R. Colquhoun's Across Chryse, Vol. II, pp. 363-94. There are two sets in the archives of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, one

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containing only 8[illegible] pictures, and the other with pictures, but no text, of 82 subgroups. The following are the 82 names according to these two sets and the records of Torii Ryūzō: He Lolo, Nü Kuan, Pe Lolo, Sung Chia, Ts'ai Chia, Ch'ia /K'a/ Yu Chung Chia, Pu Lung Chung Chia, Tseng Ch'u Lung Chia, Kou Erh Lung Chia, Ma Teng Lung Ta T'ou Lung Chia, Hua Miao, Hung Miao, Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, He Miao, Tung Miao, Hsi Miao, Yao Miao, Nung Miao, Ta Ya Ch'i Lao, Chien T'ou Ch'i Lao, Chu Shih Ch'i Lao, Hung Ch'i Lao, Hua Ch'i Lao, Shui Ch'i Lao, Kuo Ch'üan Ch'i Lao, P'ei P'ao Ch'i Lao, Mu Lao, Ch'i Chuang, P'o /?/ Jen, T'u Jen, Man Jen, Shan T'ung Jen, Yao Jen, Yang Pao, Yang Kuang, Chiu Ku Miao, Pa Fan Miao, Tzu Chiang Miao, Yang Tung Lo, Han Miao, K'e Meng Ku Yang Miao, Tung Miao, Ch'ien Miao, Ling Chia Miao, Tung Chia Miao, Shui Chia Miao, Liu E Tzu, Pe E Tzu, Jan Chia Man, Chiu Ming Chiu Hsing Miao, Yeh T'ou Miao, Tung Tsai Miao, Pa Chai Miao, Ch'ing Chiang Miao, Lou Chü Miao, He Shui Miao, He Sheng Miao, Kao P'o

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Miao, P'ing Fa Miao, He
Chung Miao, Ch'ing Chiang
Chung Chia, He Min Tzu,
Pe Tou Tzu, Pe Lung Chia,
Pe Chung Chia, T'u Ch'i Lao,
Ya Ch'üeh Miao, Hu Lu Miao,
Hung Chou Miao, Hsi Ch'i
Miao, Ch'e Chai Miao, Sheng
Miao, He Chüeh Miao, He Lou
Miao, Tuan Ch'ün Miao,
Chien Ting Miao, Lang Tz'u
Miao, Lo Han Miao, Liu Tung
I Jen, Ch'ing Chung Chia, and
Ku Lin Miao.

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them, /17/ many of different names belong to the same group. Furthermore, as the non-Chinese tribes in Kweichow in general are called Miao, there is also a difference between the broad and the narrow senses of the term. In the narrow sense the term Miao refers to the real Miao tribe. There has been very little scientific study made of the tribes in Kweichow, and there are insufficient data to make an accurate classification of them. According to S.R. Clarke, they may be classified into four main tribes according to their languages, namely, the Ch'i Lao, the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia. (1) The Ch'i Lao has been hitherto regarded as a subgroup of the pure Miao, but according to Terrien de Lacouperie's view, the Ch'i Lao are the remnants of the Ka Lun (Karen) in Burma, because of the similarity in language and in grammar between them. (2)

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[113]

1. S.R. Clarke: Among the Tribes in South-west China, pp. 1-15.

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2. Terrien de Lacouperie, The Cradle of the Shan Race, p. 48.

/17 cont./

M *101 197 C 563 However, using language as a basis, Lowis maintains that the Karen are the predecessors of the Shan tribe (Pre-Shan). (3)

3. C.C. Lowis, *The Tribes of Burma*, p. 16.

The writers have used the 76 words of the Ch'i Lao language as recorded by S.R. Clarke to make a comparison with the languages of the Miao, the Lolo, and the Chung Chia, and have found a 40 per cent similarity between the Ch'i Lao and the Chung Chia languages.. However, the two tribes have lived together for a long time, mutually assimilating each other, so that we cannot assume on the basis of the partial similarity in languages that they are of the same origin. We know that al- M *101 C 563 though the list of names of the peoples of southwest China is long, they may be divided into four groups: the Miao-Yao, the Tibeto-Burman, the Thai-Shan, and the Mon-Khmer. The tribes in Kweichow cannot fall outside these four groups. The Miao belong to the Miao-Yao group, the Chung Chia to the Thai-Shan group, the Lolo to the Tibeto-Burman group. Whether the Ch'i Lao belong to the Miao-Yao or to the Thai-Shan group remains an unsettled question for lack of sufficient data. The Ch'i Lao were the earliest tribe to reside in Kweichow and might be called the natives. They covered a rather extensive area. The *Kweichow T'ung Chih* says: "There are many kinds of Ch'i Lao, found everywhere." But they have repeatedly been assimilated by other tribes in later times, and their population now is very small. The migration of the Miao tribes M [167] into Kweichow probably began before the Ch'in and Han periods. They came out of Szechwan and first arrived in the northeast of Kweichow, gradually moving southeastward. The Miao in Kweichow sometimes also call themselves the aborigines, but when the Ch'i Lao and the Miao are found together in the same locality, the latter are considered to be "guests" and the former the "hosts." The Lolo migrated to northwestern Kweichow

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/17 cont./

M from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed
*101 in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region.
C The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the
563 Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and
southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the
Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the
Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are
gradually nearing extinction.

The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into
five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the
Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution
M of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering
*101 Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He
131 Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow,
C including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-
563 chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yüan,
Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the
region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the
Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the
central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting
and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi,
and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The
Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally
in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen,
Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua
Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang,
scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of
Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai,
Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and
167 Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved
648 outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen
in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three sub-
C prefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions
563 in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when
167 armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

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/18 cont./
M directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in
167 modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and
[648] Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan
C and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the
563 west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and
167 along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again
through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin
in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in
the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The
M foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao,
*101 but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan,
C and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one
563 area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan,
the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the
last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress.
Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely
to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time
has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

M Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three
*101 sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in
western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller
[131] in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao
[167] Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the
CC three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao,
563 but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in
Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But
at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-
prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the
sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the
north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and
La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited
by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao,
M having many villages and people, are held in awe by the
[162] others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult
of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more
numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

/19 cont./
M when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu
*101 Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao,
CC according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the
563 three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao
M and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides
[162] these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be
Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them.
As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other
names. *Yung-sui T'ing Chih* /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture,
1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-
[167] jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area
extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a,
and Yu-yang native subdistricts /*t'u szu*/ in Szechwan, north
to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai
M subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference,
[131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines
resides this tribe.

[167] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[301] from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally
wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as
[556] six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they
[527] hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three
days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came
[167] from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such
[462] places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and
[782] spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice
[769] a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called
"Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put
M the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with
[262] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until
[263] they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little
salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as
the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The
Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.

[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money
from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry
again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

[882] (8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[527] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[584] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who
[851] become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get
married. After a son is born, they then say they have a
[167] descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

(9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[291] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[302] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[782] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[769]

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M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
CC 563 bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
M open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
[782] to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
[541] wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
[787] sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
[292] heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
[769] is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.

(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
[273] ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
[167] P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
[291] fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
[714] go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
[411] Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They
[648] repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put
under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
[302] secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
[787] auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
[648] reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and
many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su
/the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
[291] chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
[411] trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
[787] their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad.
[825] In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with
the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai,
but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this
group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
[167] and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

*M

101 /20 cont./
cc in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and
563 women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather
M together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat
[167] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is
[462] said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands
[517] who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also
called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

[533] (14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in
[167] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees,
[291] and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and
[583] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After
[517] a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's
family/.

[584] (15) P'ing Fa Miao. —— Originally they were from Kuei-
[167] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-
[782] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also
[574] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices
[291] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps
[302] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair
into a knot.

[167] /21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from
M Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still
[291] numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads
with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The
M women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very
[527] tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices
[782] to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer
[769] to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board,
[776] and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The
spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.)
What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the
cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this
custom.

M (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there
[531] are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered
[386] with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax
is washed out and the designs appear.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[787] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.

[527] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[534] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
[167] Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office," The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.

563
M (19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
[346] Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
[669]

/21 cont./

M 782 (20) Wu Chia Miao. — A branch of the Hung Miao, they
came originally from Kweichow. They attach great importance
CC 563 to the sacrificing of oxen and raise in advance several heads of
oxen, the heathiest ones being reserved for the spirits. They
M [167] also prepare dried bamboo shoots and bracken and snare birds
with nets. On the appointed date they invite the sorcerer to
*[101] stay at the house. He sits on the "fire bed" all night, wearing
a straw hat, ceremonial clothes, and holding a short knife in his hand. The family all sit around him, They are ready for his questions regarding the names of the ancestors and the dates of their birthdays. This is called "getting to the root of things." The next day all the relatives /chin tsu/ are invited, but those from the mother's family are the most honored. In the middle of the courtyard is put up the ox ring, and live pigs are placed around the courtyard. /22/ The sorcerer hops about, uttering incantations, and then kills the animals with a club. Then the ox and the pigs are cut up. The hind legs, bamboo, and bracken are placed in the ring, and the rest is offered to the guests. Men and women fraternize freely and sit down in a circle, singing and drinking happily. This is called "circling the ox." Then long benches are set up like an alley, and they sit face to face, laughing and singing. This is called "ranking the ox." Next, the sorcerer ties a long rope in the nose of the ox, which is on sacrifice and attaches the other end to a wooden pole previously set up in the bare area outside. The wood is painted in five colors and is called "the general's pole." Spear in hand, everyone stands facing the ox. The sorcerer first spears the ox, followed by the host's maternal great-grandparents, maternal grandparents, maternal uncle, his wife and daughters /chiu
tsung fu-mu tzu-mei/, and guests. While dissecting the ox,
M [292] the maternal uncles wear embroidered robes and silver crowns,
and are addressed by the sorcerer as princes. They break off
the four legs of the ox and carry them home. The rest of the
M guests and friends remain to consume the meat, which is called
[574] "eating the pai chia fan /the meal to settle (?) the home/."

/22 cont./

M *101 CC 523 M 782 769

(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

M 782 769 574 248 262 175

(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; The Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung Jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

M 167

From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

Central China AF14
South China AF17
SW China AF16

/22 cont./

M *101 CC 563 In western Hunan, besides the Miao of the three sub-prefectures there are Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien, T'ung-tao, Sui-ning, and Ch'eng-pu hsiens. There are Yao in Hsü-p'u, Ch'ien-yang, Wu-kang, Tao-hsien, and Yung-ming hsiens. There are T'u Jen in Yung-shun, Pao-ching, Ku-chang, and Lung-shan hsiens, /23/ and Ch'i Lao in Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng hsiens. In recent times the non-Chinese people in west Hunan have been regarded as Miao, but actually only the Hung Miao in the three sub-prefecture and the Ch'ing Miao in Ching-hsien and T'ung-tao hsiens are pure Miao. Others like the Yao in such hsiens as Hsü-p'u and Ch'ien-yang are different from the Miao; the Ch'i Lao at Lu-ch'i and Kan-ch'eng are the same people as the Ch'i Lao of Kweichow. The language of the Tu Jen of such hsiens as Yung-shun and Pao-ching belongs to the Thai-Shan language group with Tibeto-Burman influence. They may be remnants of the Liao people of ancient times. (1) All of them are not Miao.

M *101 SoC 563 Kwangsi. — The Miao in Kwangsi are generally distributed over the areas bordering Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces, in the following 16 hsiens: Ling-yün, Pe-se, Tung-lan, Szu-lung, Nan-tan, Ho-ch'ih, Tu-an, Szu-en, I-pe, Lo-ch'eng, Yung-hsien, San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Hsi-lung, Hsi-lin, and Chen-pien. M [167] The Miao in Kwangsi for the most part are recent immigrants, and those on the Kwangsi and Yunnan border are still more recent. They are called by many names but broadly belong to the Pe Miao, Hua Miao, and He Miao.

M *101 SWC 563 Szechwan. — The Miao are also found along the Szechwan-Kweichow border. There are many Hung Miao in the south-eastern corner of Szechwan and also in an area between Szechwan, Hunan, and Kweichow, including such hsiens as Yu-yang and

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M [113] 1. Terrien de Lacouperie: *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, p. 149.

/23 cont./

M *101 SWC 563

Hsiu-shan. There are Pe Miao and Hua Miao in Kao-hsien, Kung-hsien, Hsing-wen, Ch'ang-ning, and Yün-lien in southern Szechwan. The number of Pe Miao is larger than that of the Hua Miao, and therefore this area is known as the Pe Miao area. Traces of the Miao are also found along the two banks of the Ya-lung-chiang River in the vicinity of Mien-ning-hsien.

M [167]

M [167]

Yunnan. — The area of distribution of the Miao in Yunnan is very extensive, because Yunnan is a larger province than Kweichow and its soil is more fertile. Although up to the present the number of Miao in Yunnan is not very large, their immigration into the province is continuing. Many Pe Miao and Hua Miao are found in northeastern Yunnan in such hsiens as Wei-hsin, Chen-yung, Sui-chiang, Yen-chin, Ta-kuan, I-liang, and Yung-shan. They are similar to the Miao in southern Szechwan in language and customs, although located in a different province. The Hua Miao entered Yunnan from western Kweichow, and their distribution is widespread, from Ch'ü-ching in the east through Sung-ming, Fu-min, Wu-ting, and Yen-hsing to Yang-pi, Yung-p'ing, Meng-hua, etc. hsiens; then across the Lan-tsang River from Meng-hua to Shun-ning, and westward to the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. Today, the British area of Ma-li-pa at Kuo-kan-hsien also have Miao villages. The Pe Miao and Hua Miao are scattered in such hsiens as Lo-p'ing, Shih-tsung, Ch'iu-pe, A-mi, Hsi-ch'ou, Ma-kuan, /24/ Wen-shan, Meng-tzu, P'ing-pien, Chin-ho, etc. in the southeastern part of Yunnan.

M *101 I 563

M [167]

Indo-China. — Having migrated from Kweichow to Yunnan the Miao continued to move southward to the northern part of Tonkin, Indochina, to such regions as Kao-p'ing, Hai-chiang, and Lao-chieh in the area adjacent to Yunnan, reaching the border of T'ai-yüan province in the south, which is where they end. Further south is the plain of Tonkin, without hilly country to which to move and with a climate which does not suit the Miao people. The Miao in Tonkin are principally Pe Miao, but Ch'ing Miao and Hua Miao are also to be found. (1)

1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: *Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional*, pp. 296-299.

Burma AP1

M
*101
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/24 cont./

1. E. Lunet de Lajonquière: *Ethnographie du Tonkin Septentrional*, pp. 296-299.

M
*101
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Burma. — Having stopped at the Tonkin plains, the migratory trend of the Miao turned westward through Lao-chua /Laos/ (2) to such places as Meng-hsin and Ching-tung in the territory under the Nan-shan headmen in Burma, but also stopped on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River. (3) But their number is not large, and only a few villages are inhabited largely by Pe Miao. (4)

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[167]
[113]

2. G. Ayme: *Monographie du Ve Territoire Militaire* /Monograph on the Ve Military Territory/, pp. 59-60.

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[113]

3. J. Jeorge Scott: *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part I, Vol. 1, pp. 296-299.

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[113]

4. C.C. Lowis: *The Tribes of Burma*, p. 40.

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The foregoing is a general survey of the present geographical distribution of the Miao. It reveals two obvious characteristics: 1) the regional distribution is very widespread, and 2) the vertical distribution is very high.

Regional distribution. — What is called regional may also be called plane distribution that is to say: a people's area and directions of distribution, and an explanation of the reasons for this. (5) The present extent of Miao distribution on four

*101
131
[113]

/24 cont./

5. Ling Shun-sheng:
Yunnan Min Tsu te Ti Li
Fen Pu /The Geographical
Distribution of the Peoples
of Yunnan/, pp. 11-14.

sides is as follows: in the east it reaches west of Kwei-chiang River; in the west it stops on the east bank of the Nu-chiang River; in the north it ends at the north bank of the Ya-lung-chiang River at the territory under the Mu-li headman; in the south it reaches the hilly country above the confluence of the Hung-ho and Li-sien-chiang rivers. This area is the most extensive occupied by any one of the peoples of the southwest.

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The migration of the Miao in recent times, due to the repeated disturbances in Kweichow, has reached eastward only to the west of the Yüan-chiang River, and northward to the south bank of the Yangtze River. Since further on in their two directions the terrain becomes less hilly and is more densely populated, there is no land for the Miao to move into. Even if there were land available, the damp, hot climate would be unsuitable for them to live in. The spread of the Miao southeastward was along the Nan Ling mountains /25/ and stopped west of the Kwei-chiang River. Their movement westward met no obstacles because Yunnan, Tonkin, and Laos are all spacious and thinly populated, and now they have reached the east bank of the Nu-chiang. The emigration of the Miao is the latest among the movements of the peoples of the southwest. Yunnan and Indochina, although spacious and thinly populated as stated, have their arable areas in the mountains already occupied by the Lolo and other hill people. When the Miao arrived last they could not find extensive hilly country for living together as a tribe, and were forced to scatter, each to find his own way. Furthermore, being refugees from political turmoil, they lacked organization and definite destinations. In general, depending on hilly areas where they could settle down, they moved farther and farther, and thus their area became increasingly extensive.

/25 cont./

*101 131 133 167 361 Vertical distribution. — What is called vertical distribution refers to the complex topography of Yunnan and Indo-China, for the most part consisting of precipitous mountains and deep valleys and ravines. The peoples who come from various directions are greatly limited by their past geographical environments and look for areas most suited to their needs. The Pai-i live at the bottom of deep valleys. The Lolo mountain dwellers dread and avoid the lowlands. Therefore, the vertical distribution of the southwestern peoples of the various provinces follow definite zones just like the life zones of plants. The old home of the Miao was in Kweichow, about 1,000 meters above sea level on the average. The better mountain slopes in the southwestern provinces were already selected by the various mountain-dwelling peoples who came earlier. The Miao, who came later, could only get to live on the ~~m~~ mountain peaks. Therefore their vertical distribution is very high, and they become known as the "Kao Shan Miao /high-mountain Miao/."

/26/ CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIAO FRONTIER COUNTRY

131 133 Location. — The sphere of the Miao frontier country, according to the full map of the Miao frontier in Miao Fang-pei Lan /A Look at Miao Defenses/ by Yen Ju-yü published in the twenty-fifth year of the Chia Ching reign period (1820), is within the area bounded by the Yüan Chiang River in the west, the Yu Chiang River in the south, the Ch'en Chiang River in the north, and the Hunan-Kweichow boundary in the east (Illus. 1).[1] This area is bound by water on three sides in the north, east, and south, and screened by high mountains in the west, forming a natural area (Illus. 2).[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 48a-d. — ANALYST]

[2] [" " " p48c - "]

/26 cont./

133 Mountain ranges. — The most important mountain is the
La-erh Shan. The section "Hsien Yao K'ao /Strategic Posts/"
in Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "The Great La-erh Shan is situated
70 li to the west of the city (Feng-huang) and is more than ten
li high. The mountain appears enormous, astride the two
provinces of Hupeh and Kweichow. In the east Ya-yu, Hiang-
shang /pronounced K'ang-shang in the north/, in the south Li-
lin and Yu-ni, in the west K'ang-chin and Hsiu-nao, and in
the north Hu-lu and Kan-tzu-yao, are all branches of this
[361] mountain, spreading over an area of more than a hundred li,
where there are many Miao villages. Hence, old chronicles
ofter refer to the defeat of the Miao in Hupeh and Kweichow
as being in the La-erh Shan." The La-erh Shan begins at
Cheng-ta-ying, Kweichow, from where it extends irregularly
to the middle of the Miao area, where a fault occurred, form-
[361] ing a plateau. This plateau is dotted with Miao villages,
whose inhabitants defend themselves by taking advantage of the
[101] favorable terrain. It has always been known as the den of the
Sheng Miao /"the uncivilized Miao," i.e. those who have not
been brought under Chinese administration/.

Rivers. — The main courses of the Yüan, the Yu, and the Ch'en rivers flow only along the borders of the Miao frontier region. The most important rivers within this area are all tributaries of these three rivers, the largest of which is the Wu Ch'i, a tributary of the Yüan Chiang, and also known as the T'ung Ho. This branch extends deep into the Miao area and has three sources: the Wu-ch'ao Ho (Illus. 4)[1] in the west, the Wan-yung Chiang in the middle, and the Kao-yen Ho (Illus. 5)[2] in the north. The Wu-ch'ao Ho rises at Hsiao-t'ien-hsing-chai /village/ in Feng-huang, and flows westward to where the Niang-shui-t'o, and the Lung-chüeh-t'ung tributaries joint it. Further westward it passes Ta-hsin-chai and flows around Shang-hsia-yüan-hou-chai, veering southward to where the Ma-chung and the Hsiao-feng-huang-ying tributaries joint it from the east. It then flows southeastward, passing through Ma-ching-t'an and around Sheng-hua-shao to where the T'i

[1], [2] [See cat. 116, p49 - ANALYST]

/26 cont./

133 Ch'i and the Pe-yen Chiang tributaries flow from the northwest to join it. Further east it flows around Feng-huang-hsien city, becoming known as the T'o Chiang. (Illus. 18)[1] Again, it flows east to the east side of the city where the Hsin-ti[2] Ch'i tributary flows from the west and joins it. Then it flows northeastward to Lui-kungt'ung where the Wan-ken Ch'i tributary flows from the north to join it. Further, it flows northeastward to Ch'i-k'ou where it receives the Hsiao-ch'i Shui. Further northeastward it flows to Mao-chou, entering Lu Ch'i, to Hsia-Lao-Hu-K'ou, where it is joined by the Tz'u and Chung tributaries at Chiang-chün-yen. Further northeast it empties into the Wan-yung Chiang at Ho-ch'i. Rising at Ta-t'ien-hsing-chai, the Wan-yung Chiang flows south around Yen-k'ou-hsin to /Illus. 1-5 are between pp. 26 and 28/ /28/ Mu-li-hsin, then veers east to receive the Hsi-men Chiang tributary at Lao-p'o-t'an. It flows northeastward again around San-hio-yen, passing through Lung-kun-ying to Kan-tzu-shao, where the streams from the Ch'üeh-ju-chai area flow from the southeast to join it. Then it flows northeast to Kan-ch'eng, where the Wu Ch'i tributary flows from the east to join it. From then on it is called the Wu Ch'i. Further east it receives the Ya Ch'i tributary at Ya Ch'i. Still further east at Chang-p'ai it merges with the Kao-yen Ho. The Kao-yen Ho rises from Ta-hsiao-lung-t'ung (Illus. 6) at Yung-sui, merging with the Ch'ao Shui, the Lao-chai, and the Huang-t'u, and flowing to Kao-yen, where it becomes navigable by small craft. It flows eastward to Hsiao-ch'ung where it is joined by the Hsiao-ch'ung Ch'i. Then eastward it passes through Wei-che where it is joined by the P'ing-lang Ch'i from the south. Still flowing east /Illus. 6 appears here/ /29/ it is joined by the Lü T'ung and other rivers from the south at Ch'i-t'ou-hsin. Further east it receives the Chen Ch'i and the Hsin-chai Ch'i rivers at Chen-ch'i-so. Southeastward it merges with the Wu Ch'i tributary at Chang-p'ai-chai, and over ten li further to the southeast it joins the T'o Chiang at Ch'i-k'ou, becoming known there as the T'ung Ho. It flows eastward to Nan-mu-ch'iao, where it receives the Nan Mu Ch'i from the north. Continuing east it receives the

[text continues on p 50]

[1] [see ent. 116, p 72 - ANALYST]

[2] [" " ", p50 - "]

Upper left

2:Ling & Ruey-48a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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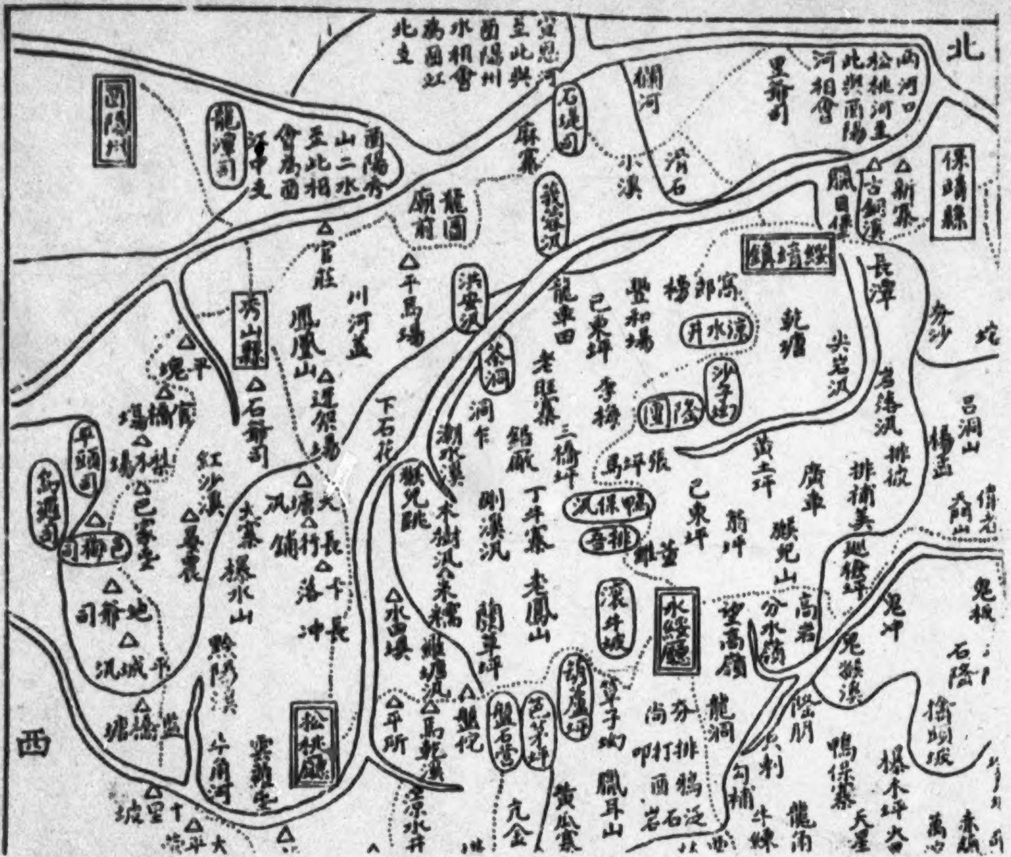
北
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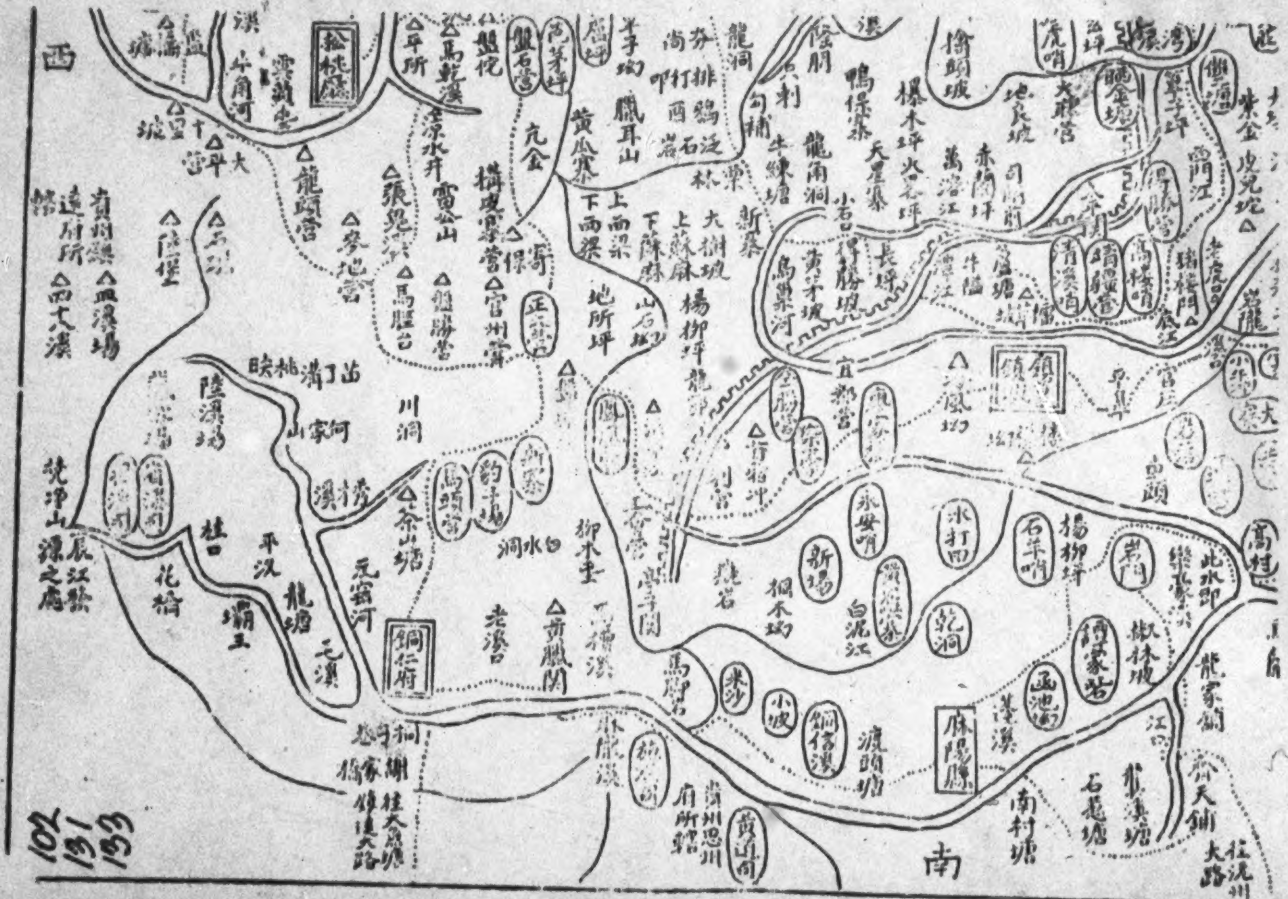
石堤司
保靖縣
秀山縣
洪安汛
茶洞
松桃廳
永綏廳
平頭司
烏羅司
邑梅司
長潭
鳳凰山
平馬場
官莊
龍車田
三橋坪
鴨保汛
龍洞
鴨保寨
鳳耳山
黃瓜寨
涼水井
兩河口
麻寨
新寨
石耶司
磐石營
貓兒跳

Illus. 1. Full Map of the Miao Frontier (according to Miao Fang-pei Lan by Yen Ju-yü)

Lower left

2:Ling & Ruey--48b E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5


西
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松桃廳
銅仁府
麻陽縣
鎮筸
高村
盤石營
黃瓜寨
臘耳山
龍頸營
麥地營
馬腦營
豹子場
茶山塘
元宿河
川洞
山家河
陸溪場
梵淨山
辰江
花橋
平汛
龍塘
地所坪
龍角洞
鴨保寨
長坪
烏巢河
得勝營
宜都營
永安哨
新場
水打田
石羊哨
楊柳坪
桐木坳
白泥江
乾洞
岩門
米沙
小坡
銅信溪
漾溪
南村塘
石花塘
齊天鋪
龍家鋪
往沅州大路
貴州思州府所轄
高樓哨
清溪哨
牛欄
潭江
萬溶江
大興寨

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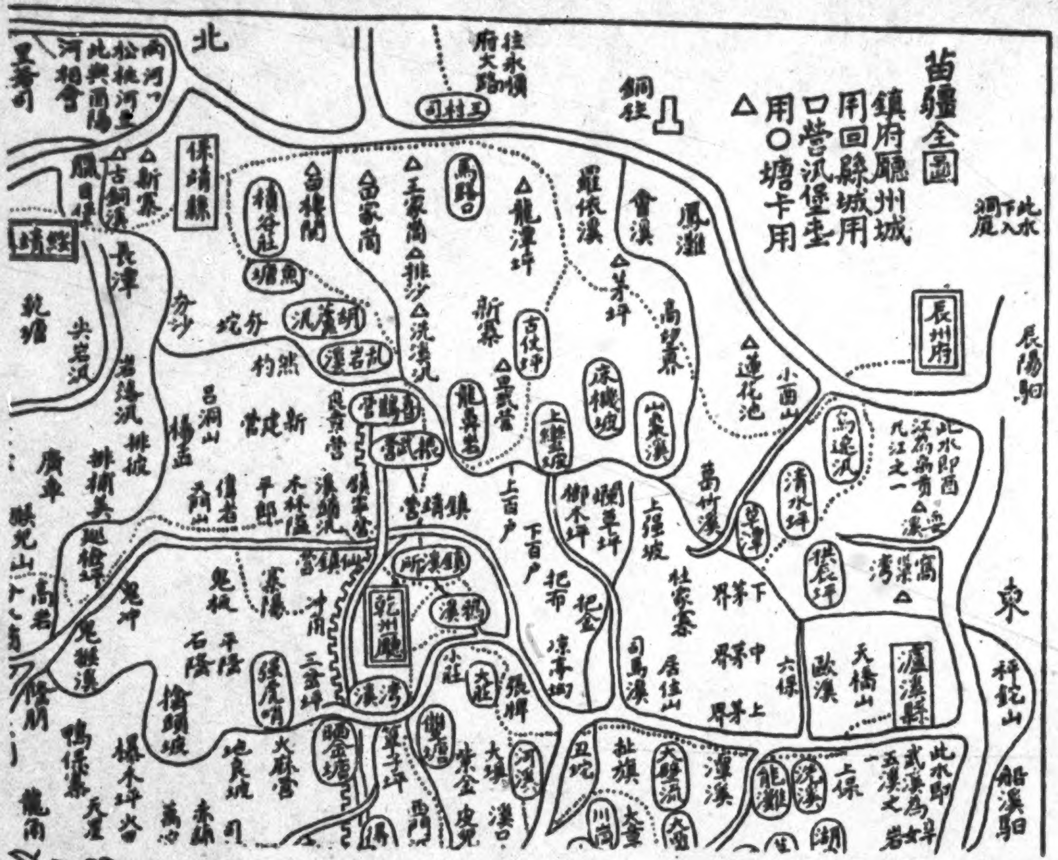
Upper right


苗疆全圖
鎮府廳州城用回
縣城用口
營汛堡壘用△
塘卡用
北
東
長州府
乾州廳
瀘溪縣
保靖縣
長陽驛
船溪驛
往永順府大路
銅往
此水下入洞庭
鳳凰
龍潭坪
羅依溪
會溪
蓮花池
清水坪
鎮溪所
鎮筸營

2:Ling & Ruey--48c E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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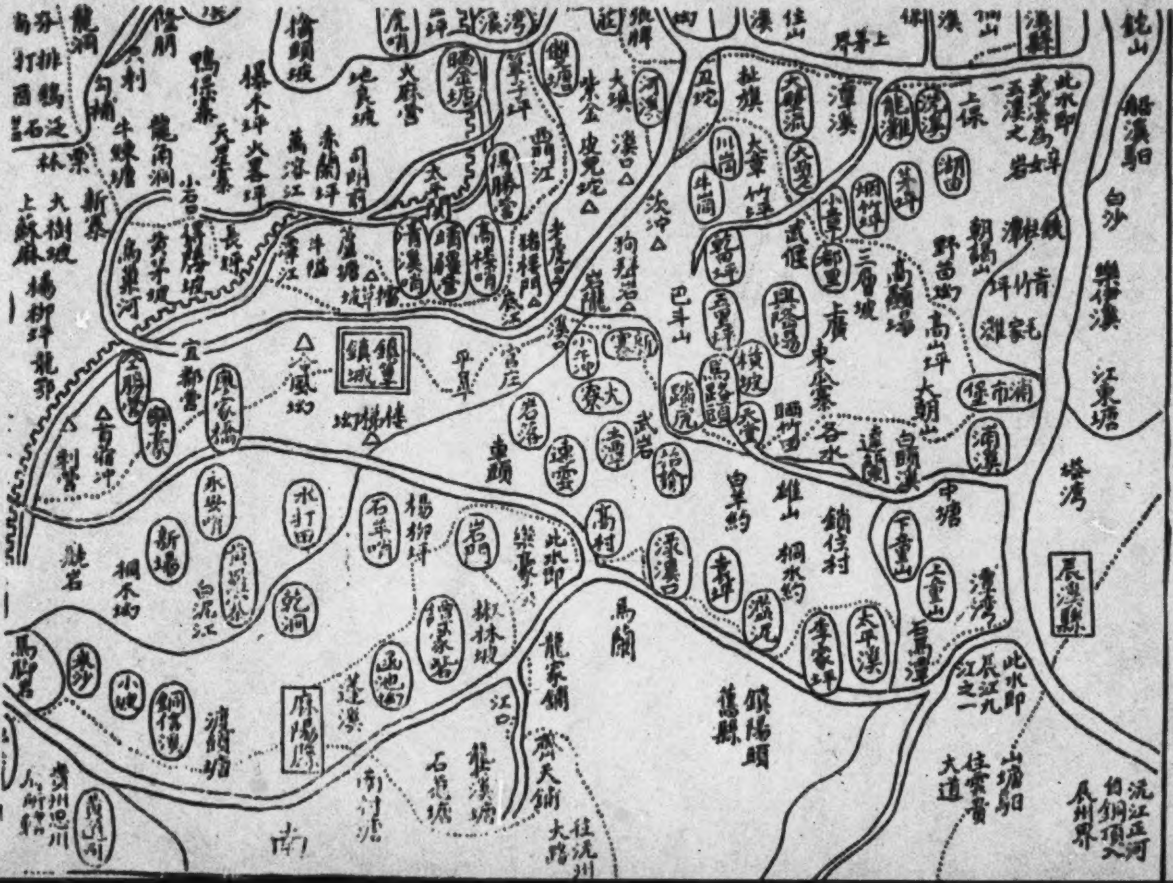
鎮筸城
麻陽縣
辰溪縣
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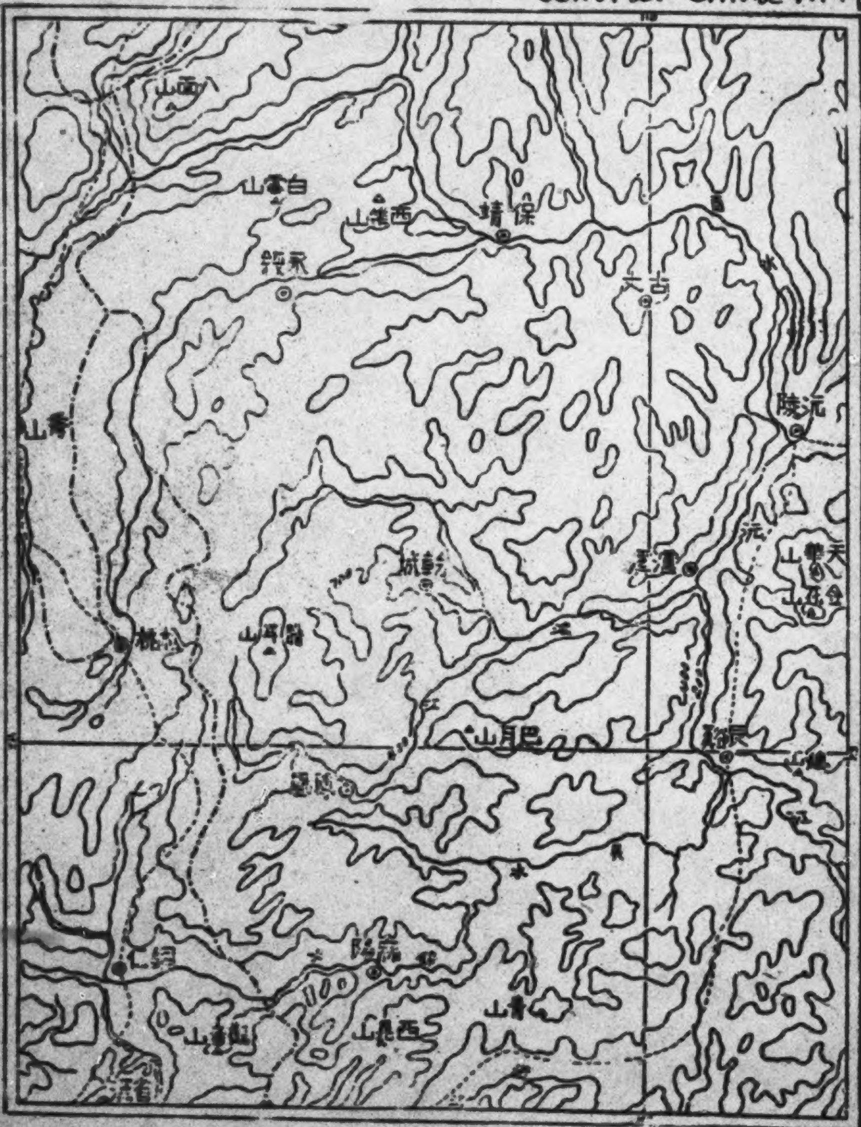
此水即辰江九江之一
沅江正河
自銅頂入
辰州界
往沅州大路
鎮陽頭
舊縣
南


八面山
白雲山
西進山
保靖
永綏
古丈
沅陵
乾城
瀘溪
沅
臘爾山
松桃
巴月山
辰谿
鳳凰
麻陽
銅仁
西晃山

Illus. 2. Sketch Map of the Topography of the Miao Frontier

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2:Ling & Ruey--48f E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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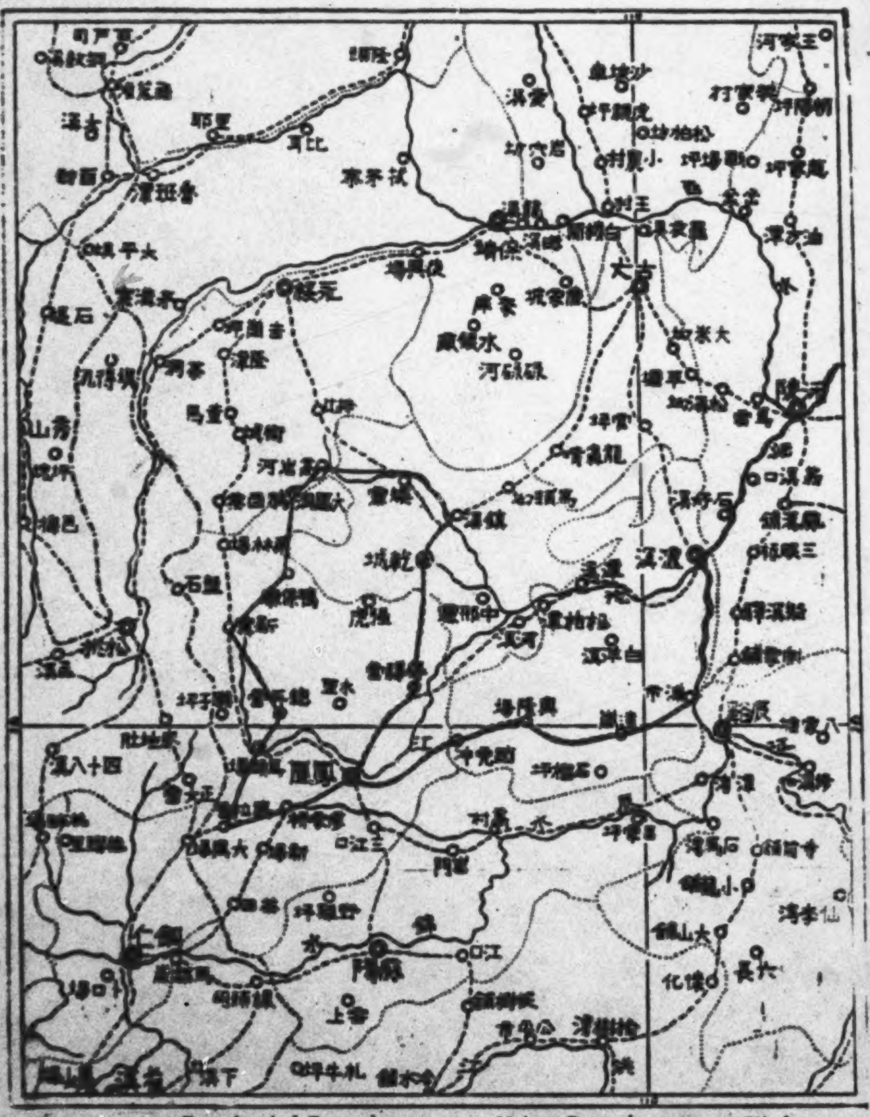

-·-·-·- Provincial Boundary ···· Hsien Boundary ---- Highways
________ Lines of the Investigation

Scale 1: 500,000

Illus. 3. Map of the Lines of the Investigation in the Miao Frontier

Illus. 4. Wu-ch'ao Ho River at Ta-shu-p'o, Feng-huang. (The steep bank on the left shore is the La-erh tableland.)

Illus. 5. Kao-yen Ho, a source of the T'ung Ho River.

/29 cont./

133 Szu-ma Ch'i from the south at Szu-ma-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it receives the T'an Ch'i from the north at T'an-ch'i-k'ou. Continuing east it reaches Nung-t'an, where it is joined by the Wan Shui, which rises in the Pa-tou Shan mountains and flows around Szu-tu and Wu-tu, reaching Mao P'ing to join with the Ma-wang Ch'i

Illus. 6. Ta-lung-t'ung waterfall, a source of the T'ung Ho River. (180 kung ch'ih.)

/29 cont./

133 and the Sang Ch'i from the southeast. Again flowing eastward it receives the Hsi Ch'i from the north at Hsi-ch'i-pao. Flowing still further east it receives the Su-mu Ch'i tributary at Su-mu-ch'i-k'ou. Further east it empties into the Yüan Chiang at Lu-ch'i-ch'eng.

Next in importance is the tributary of Yu Chiang, the Sung-t'ao Ho, which encircles the northwest of the Miao area. This waterway has two sources: one rises to the southwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu in Kweichow, flowing north of T'ai-p'ing-Ying, where it turns northeastward; the other rises in the northwest of P'ing-t'ou-szu, flowing eastward from the west and merging with the southern branch and continuing east. After receiving the waters of the San-pu-kuan, it passes through Yün-lo-t'un and is joined by the Chang-kuei Ch'i and the Ma-kan Ch'i tributaries at Sung-t'ao-ch'eng. Crossing Kao-p'ing /plain?/ it enters the Yung-sui region and receives the Mi-no C'hi tributary at Mi-no. Flowing north it is joined by the waters of the Mu-shu Ho at Mu-shu-hsin. Further north it receives the Ch'ao-shui Ch'i at Ch'ao-shui ch'i-t'ang Continuing north it reaches La-erh Pao, where it is joined by the Ta-mao Ch'i, which combines the waters of the Kang Ch'i, the Lao-mu Ch'i, the Lung-t'uan Ch'i, the I-ch'i Ch'i, and the Kai Ch'i flowing from the northeast. Flowing northeast it enters the Yung Ching region, reaching Ku-t'ung-hsin, where the Ku-t'ung Ch'i tributary joins it. Further northeast it reaches Hsi-ho-k'ou and empties into the Yu Chiang.

A very important river in the southern part of the Miao area is the Hao-lo Ch'i, a tributary of the Ch'en Chiang. This river rises among the Miao villages /chai/ at Yen-yao, Kweichow, and flowing south then east it reaches the Shuang-p'en Ch'i, which joins it. Further east it flows to Liao-chia-ch'iao and Lao T'ien-p'ing, where several streams of Lao-t'ien-p'ing join it. Still eastward it flows to Mi-yen-ts'un /village/, where the Mi-yen Ch'i flows from the west to join it. Turning northeast it flows to Shuang Chiang K'ou, where the Shui-t'ien Ch'i joins it from the north. Further east it

/29 cont./
133 reaches Yen-meng and Ch'e-t'ou where the Yu-lo Ch'i, the
Huang-an Ch'i, and the T'un-szu Ch'i tributaries joint it from
the west. Finally it flows past Shih-yang-shao and enters Ma-
yang-chiai, and reaches Kao-ts'un, where it empties into the
Ch'en Chiang River.

[131] Topography. (Illus. 2). — Topographically, the Miao
area may be divided into two natural regions. The northwestern
section can be called the La-erh plateau region; the southeastern
section is the region where the rivers flow down. Although the
plateau rises about 700 kung ch'ih above sea level, on it there
are a great many small basins, with many springs and ponds
[192] good for irrigation. The Miao call such small basins p'ing
/a plain/, t'ang /a pond/, or ch'ung. The best known among
these is the Pao-mu-ying-p'ing, about 70 li north /30/ of Feng-
huang-ch'eng /city/. Surrounded by mountains, this level
area measures five to six li in length and three to four li in width
[312] and has seven or eight spring-fed ponds, supplying ample drink-
ing water. It is the largest basin on the plateau. Ya-pao-chai
[433] (Illus. 7),[1] situated in the Ya-pao-shan mountains, about 93 li
north of Feng-huang-ch'eng, is very high and cold. It has
[241] several fish ponds and produces rough rice and yams. In 1795,
[648] when the Miao revolted, the headman, Wu Lung-teng, whose
family had lived there for generations, was entrenched there.
The above two places are the largest among the basins on the
plateau. There are countless small basins /p'ing and ch'ung/.
[312] There are numerous wells and springs in the mountains, wells
being found even on the peaks. The "Yao K'ao" section of the
Miao Fang-pei Lan states: "Fifty li southwest outside the city is
Ma-an Shan /"Horse Saddle Mountain"/, which is about eight
or nine li in height, is very steep, and resembles a horse saddle
in shape. On top of the mountain there is a well that never
[312] goes dry. On the mountain there are pockets where there are
irrigated rice fields. It is a strategic point for the uncivilized
Miao to defend."" The La-erh plateau is dotted with Miao
[361] villages and settlements because of its level places /p'ing/ and
wells and springs, and there the Miao people thrive.

[1] [see cat. 116, p55 - ANALYST]

M /30 cont./
133 In the region where the rivers flow down, the hills are less
steep than in the plateau area. Both sides of the rivers can be
made into terraced fields, and the water from the rivers used
M for irrigation. Further, the rivers are navigable by small craft,
[487] thus making communication relatively easier, and the Chinese
M have migrated here.

131 The two regions referred to above can be demarcated by
648 the ruins of the boundary wall erected under the Ming dynasty.
Miao Fang-pei Lan, Shu Wang Lu /Detailed Old Records from
C the M.F.L./, states: "In the forty-third year of the Wan Li
712 reign period (1615 A.D.) the Ping-pei Ts'an-cheng /Administra-
648 tive Officer of Military Preparedness/ at Ch'en and Yüan rivers,
563 Ts'ai Fu-i, reported that because the garrison outposts were so
scattered and the Miao roads so rugged, it was difficult to defend
against Miao incursions. He requested the appropriation of some
40,000 in gold currency for the erection of an earth wall, from
T'ung-jen down to Pao-ch'ing, winding along the mountains
and the streams for more than 300 li. Thus the border was made
relatively secure. Again, during the second year of T'ien Chi
(1622 A.D.), the assistant commissioner of the circuit of the
garrison at Ch'en and Yüan rivers, Hu I-hung ordered Teng Tsu-
yü, a guerrila commander, to add another 60 li of wall from
Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying." The ruins of this wall start
from Wang-hui-ying and T'ing-tzu-kuan in the southeast corner
of the Miao area and proceeds northeast, ending at Hsi-ch'üeh-
ying, dividing the Miao area into the southeast and the north-
west regions. The building of the boundary wall under the Ming
dynasty was not intentionally based on the topography but rather
in accordance with the limits of Chinese colonization in the
Miao area. The Chinese first occupied the region where the
rivers flowed down in the southeast, and the Miao retreated to
the La-erh plateau, defending themselves behind its natural
advantages. The Chinese and the Miao were already divided
M according to topography (Illus. 2, 8)[1] some 300 years ago. The
131 frontier wall of that time, although serving as a boundary line
648 between the Chinese and the Miao, became at the same time a

[1] [see cat. 116, pp48e and 56a - ANALYST]

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has
led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore,
whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7
on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits
designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land,
and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate. — Due to the lack of meteorological records the
climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The
[114] authors kept such records along the way during their travels,
but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed
that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two
points within a short distance could be quite different. For
instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade,
but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13
at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas
So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270
kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region.
On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown
only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in
the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate
in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su
K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate,
of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China
Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing
slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

Illus. 7. Ya-pao-chai in a small basin on the La-erh-shan plateau (855 kung ch'ih above sea level).

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M /32 cont./

132 a ts'un. Excessive rain continues throughout the spring and summer for weeks and months, rendering the place muddy and difficult for travel. As soon as the rains let up, the steaming atmosphere penetrates the bones. The spring water flowing from M [312] rocky mountain hollows is very cool and upsets the stomach when drunk. The climate is so bad that outsiders living there are liable to become sick. This is what Ma Fu-po said: "Alas, Wu Ch'i is full of poison." In autumn and winter the frost and snow fall early, the distant hollows and lonely peaks being piled with accumulated snows for many months without melting. Often hailstorms pelt the land and icicles hang from the eaves to the ground as big as pillars. To go in and out of a house the Miao have to break open the ice with sticks. If one goes up six li it is especially extreme. Even the birds run away from the cold weather. Since the area has been developed and the Miao civilized, there have been less rainy weather, fewer freezes, and birds have come back to nestle in the trees." This quotation gives some general ideas about the climate of the Miao area. But today, the Miao area, having been developed for a long time, has no more jungle, and although the climate remains the same, the geographical environment has been greatly changed. The former malaria-ridden wilderness has become thickly populated areas.

C 712 Settlements. — The distribution and types of Miao settlements vary according to the topography and ethnic group. The [621] Chinese generally live in a ch'eng /city/, a pao /fort/, a t'un or in the neighborhood of a stone guard house. The city is /Illus. [361] 8 faces p. 33/ /33/ larger than the pao and the t'un smaller than the pao. So the important Chinese settlements are the paos and t'uns. Paos and t'uns are more numerous in the Miao area than in any other region. The origin of their construction is referred to in Miao Fang-pei Lan in the Ch'eng Pao P'ien /Section on Cities and Forts/ as follows: "According to the Feng-huang subprefecture's negotiations for improvements and memorial to the throne to repair the paos, Te-sheng-ying /Victory Barracks/ (Illus. 9) and Liao-chia-ch'iao /Liao-chia Bridge/, the defense commissioner

2:Ling & Ruey--56a E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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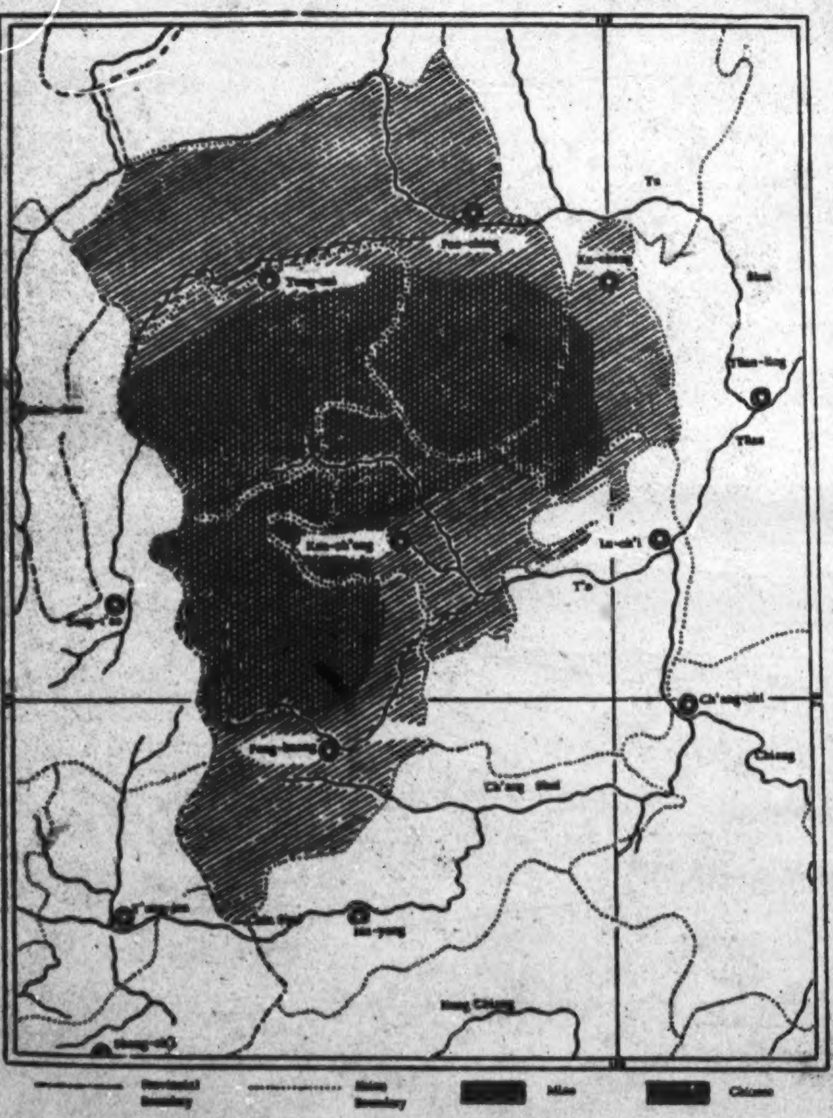
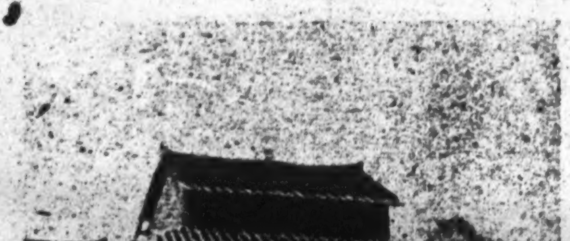

Pao-ching
Yung-sui
Ku-chang
Kan-ch'eng
Feng-huang
Ch'ang Shui
Provincial Boundary
Hsien Boundary
Miao
Chinese

Illustration 6. Map of the Distribution of the Chinese and Miao in the Five Hsien of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, Pao-ching, and Ku-chang.

/33 cont./

712 /ping pei tao/ Ch'eng-ning issued orders to all villages in the Miao area to build civilian paos. At that time, although the refugees in the two sub-prefectures of Kan-ch'eng and Feng-huang were resettled, there were still recalcitrant Miao remaining behind in isolated villages. [503] Whereupon the sub-prefect, Fu Nai, organized and trained a local militia to drive them out. When an area was cleared, a t'un was built and the men were given weapons to hold it. At strategic points guard houses



Illus. 9. Stone pao of Te-sheng-ying, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--58 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao

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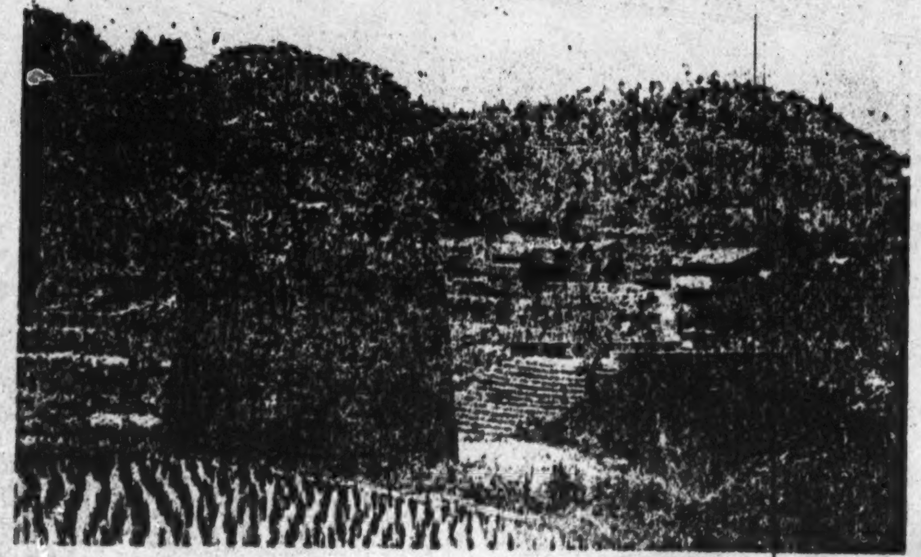

Illus. 10. Stone house /tiao/ near Te-sheng-ying.

/35/
C 712 were built for defense. At such places as Huang-lo-chai and
Shui-ta-t'ien in the sub-prefecture large paos were erected. In
thinly populated and topographically restricted areas, t'uns
were built, which communicated with each other for mutual
defense. A t'un is built according to the requirements of the
place, varying from several chang to more than ten chang in
width, and from ten to 30 chang in length. The foundation
of a t'un is laid with two or three ch'ih of rough stones, on
which are added two layers of bricks about four or five ch'ih in
height; and then the crenulated wall with apertures for observation
and firing guns is put. Each t'un accommodates a few
C dozen men. Animals and grains are also sheltered in it." There
361 are two kinds of paos, the stone and the earth paos. A small
712 pao is oval in shape, a street runs through the center, bordered
by residential dwellings, with two pao gates at the two ends of
the street. A big pao is round in shape with three or four pao
gates (Illus. 9), and the streets within are often in the shape
of a cross.

C Besides the paos and the t'uns in the Miao area there are
[342] many stone houses /tiao/. Formerly in the areas around these
stone houses t'un soldiers were posted to keep watch. Today,
such areas have become little settlements, as in Illus. 10.
These are villages near the stone houses. The Chinese also
C settled at important communication points leading to bridges.
[491] They even built houses on bridges, forming bridge streets, such
as shown in Illus. 11. Some markets also have appeared at
[443] ferry points along the rivers. Chinese settlements are distributed
mostly along communication lines and garrison points so that
in case of alarm they can come to each other's aid.

M The Miao settlement is called "chai" (Illus. 12, 13), built
361 generally against a mountainside or along a river, without
[712] any uniform appearance. The chai wall is made of earth or
stone slabs, and there is no definite number of gates. The
[363] streets of a chai zigzag up and down, with tiny alleys on both
sides. In each alley there are a few families. The alleys are

/35 cont./

M interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside
361 a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit.
[363] Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single
Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys,
barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais
M are not located along lines of communication but in the deep
[487] mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached.
Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the
last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan
may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy
to defend and difficult to capture.

M Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally
342 are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with
tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese
C house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type,
[342] but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five
rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story
houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have
three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates,
M pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).[1] Pine trees are abundant in
[137] the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13
appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when
pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier.
The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets,
the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for
roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature
of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room
type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).[2] In a three-
M room type house the middle room is the main room. On the
353 rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the
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[text continues on p 63]

[1] [see Cat. 116, p64 - ANALYST]

[2] [" ", p65 - "]

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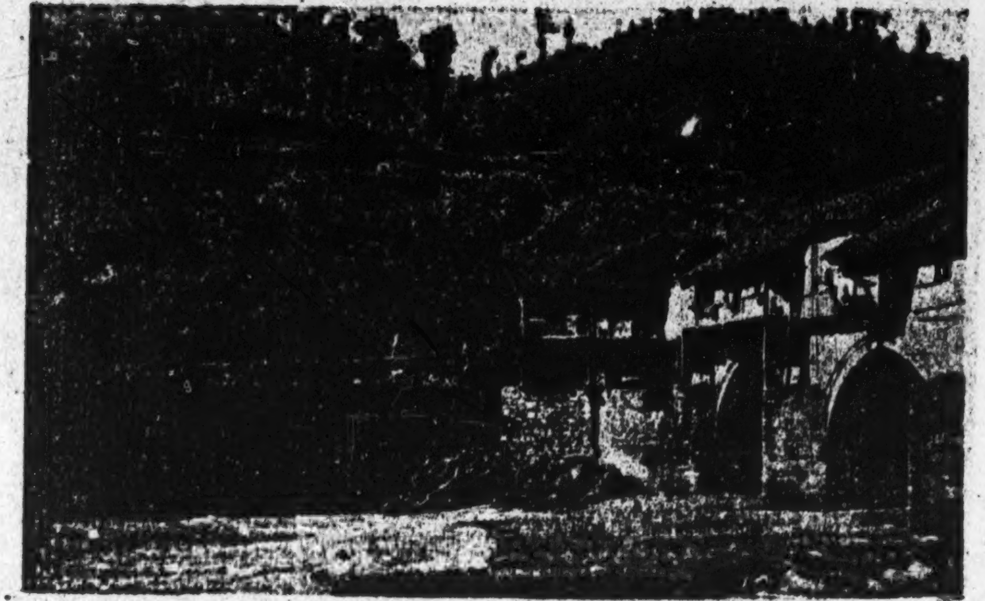

Illus. 11. The bridge street of San-kung-ch'iao Bridge in Feng-huang (the bridge is over Wan-yung Chiang River).

Illus. 12. Lao-tung, Feng-huang, that is, the Miao chai of Hsia-ma-tung.

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Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

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[778] Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Rela-
[197] tives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed
against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and
352 covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed
[231] are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The
[354] room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace
in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally
782 placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing
769 to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen
354 stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:
000

Illus. 14. A Mao house, with sun-dried brick walls and a roof of bark, slate, and thatch.

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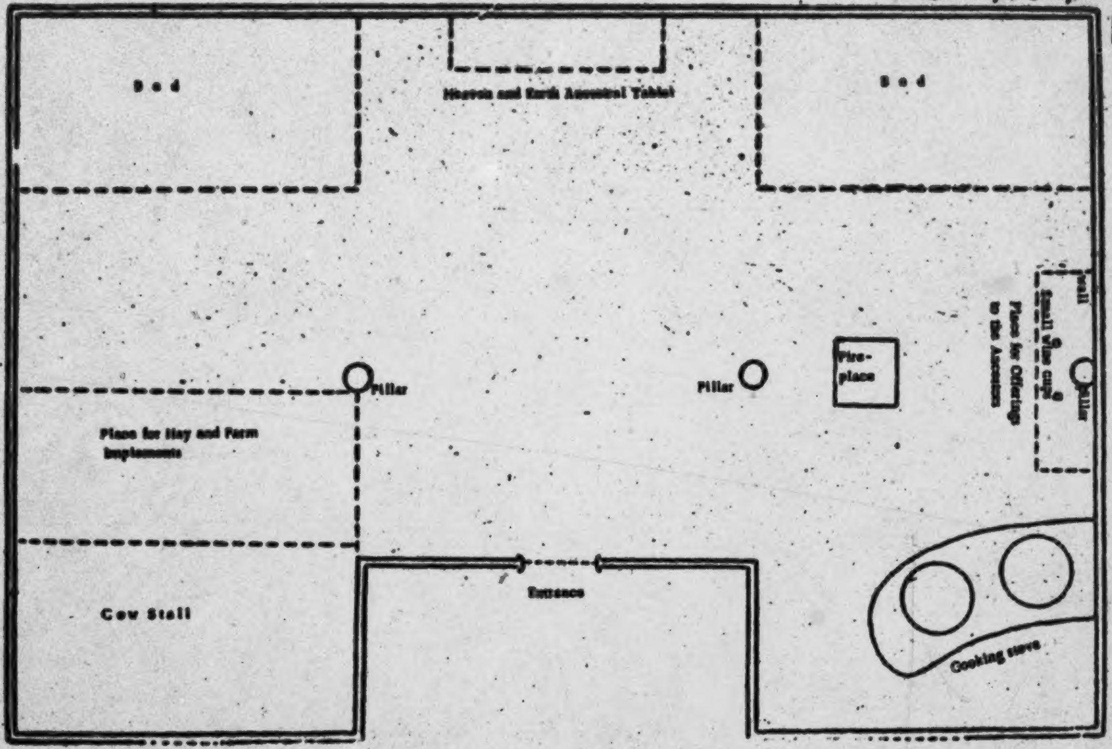
Bed
Heaven and Earth Ancestral Tablet
Bed
wall
Small wine cups
Place for Offerings to the Ancestors
Pillar
Fire-place
Pillar
Pillar
Place for Hay and Farm Implements
Entrance
Cow Stall
Cooking stove

Illustration 18. Plan of a three-room-type house of a Lung family among the Miao

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353 /41 cont./ Among the Miao there are five surnames:
784 Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described
551 above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The
families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen
354 stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just
778 the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room
type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and
M the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The
342 partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars
353 and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families
556 side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17).
If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is
251 for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic
231 animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig
514 pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women.
Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a pain-
M ful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the
251 storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug
underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three
bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the
sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered
with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air.
If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after
M the bamboo covering has been removed before going down.
813 Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indi-
cates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain
M from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural
241 implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the
171 furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those
352 used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

M
487 **Roads.** — The communication system in the Miao area
consists of land routes and waterways. The most important
C waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a
487 comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao
country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth,
extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang,
another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

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C /41 cont./
487 li to Ta-pi-liu, another ten li to Ch'e-ch'i, and 30 more li to Ho Ch'i. From the mouth of the river to Ho Ch'i, some 130 li, the waterway is known as the Wu Ch'i River. Above Ho Ch'i it divides into two branches, south and north: the northern branch, known as the Wan-yung Chiang, runs ten li to Chang-p'ai-chai, where it again divides into two more branches, one flowing westward as the Wan-yung Chiang proper, passing through Ta-chuang and Hsiao-chuang for 50 li to Kan-ch'eng. The other branch, which flows northwestward, is known as Kao-yen Ho, and goes 15 li to Chen-ch'i-so, 15 li to Hsien-chen-ying, ten li to Chen-ning-ying, 20 li to P'ing-lang, five li to Wei-che, eight li to Hsün-chien-p'ing, 20 li to Kao-yen-hsin. The branch flowing south of Ho Ch'i, known as the T'o Chiang, flows through Ch'i-k'ou, Chiang-chün-yen, and Mao Chou to Lao-hu-k'ou for about 60 li, and then passing Lao-hu-k'ou it flows from Mu-lung-ti Chiang to Feng-huang for another 70 li.

The parts of the T'ung Ho navigable by small craft are: the Wu Ch'i, 113 li; the Wan-yung Chiang, 60 li; /Illus. 16,
M 17 on pp. 42, 43/ /44/ the Kao-yen Ho, 93 li; and the T'o
C Chiang, 130 li; totaling 296 li in all. These river courses
487 are difficult to navigate and are not passable all year round.
502 Miao Fang-pei Lan in the section on roads and waterways says:
133 "This river (the T'ung Ho) has precipitous cliffs standing up like daggers, strange rocks clustering like a forest of spears, and rioting cataracts. Through slight negligence a boat can be crushed into pieces. It dries up in autumn and winter, causing difficulty in transportation. It is only in summer when mountain streams rush down from the Miao villages, that small craft may ply here and there. However, the cliffs and rocks become more dangerous as the water rises. Once a sandbank is reached, a day is often spent in lifting the boat across to deep water. The difficulty of crossing such banks is
M twice as much as in other rivers."

C
487 The Ch'en Chiang waterway starts from the city of Ch'en-ch'i-hsien and joins the Lo-hao Ch'i /tributary/ at Kao-ts'un

[text continues on p.70]

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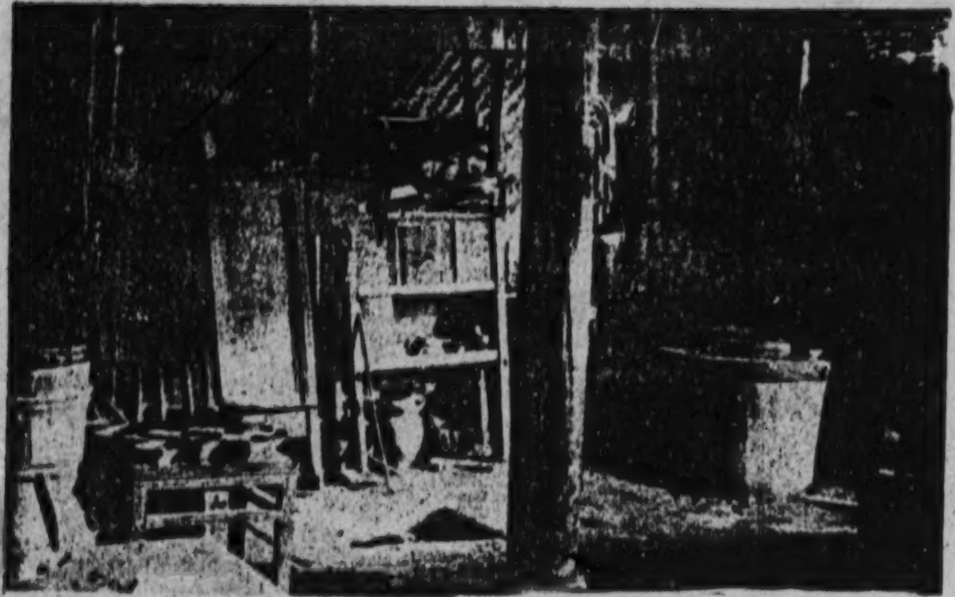

Illus. 16. Interior arrangement of a Miao house of the two-room type with three pillars and four frames.

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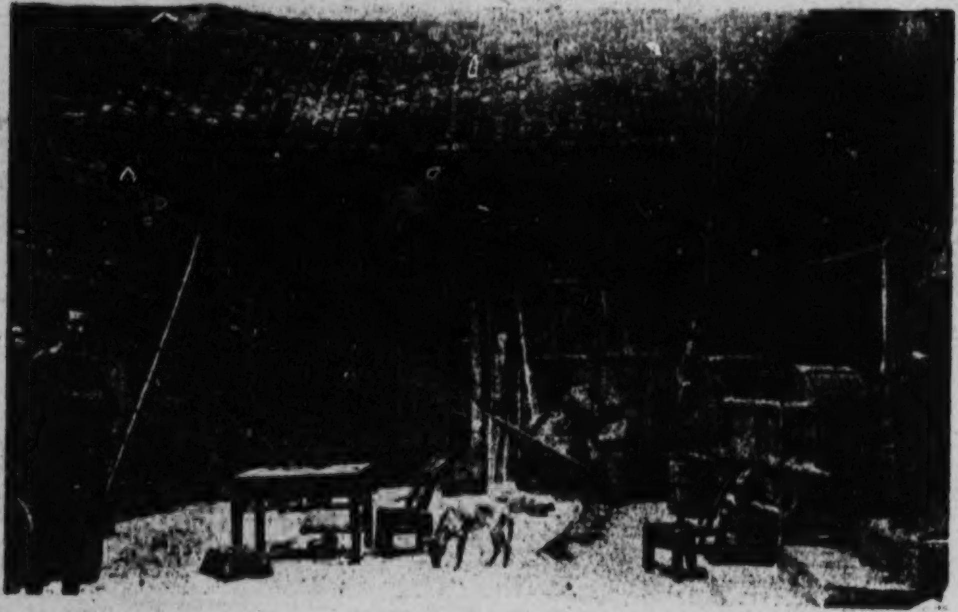

Illus. 17. Miao in a house with a main house and additional side rooms.

C M 487 /44 cont./
about 97 li away. When the water rises in the summer, the river is navigable by small crafts to Yen-men and Shin-yang-shao.
C M [505] [502] The total cargo weight of a boat cannot exceed a few shih, and the boat has to be towed or lifted by boatmen wading through the sand and rocks. Although the distance is short, the voyage is very strenuous.

C M [505] The 270 li of the Yu Chiang from Yüan-ling to Pao-ching is navigable by small craft, carrying cargo not over several shih in weight, and covering only about a dozen li per day. From Pao-ching the river empties into the Sung-t'ao Ho, and when the water rises in the summer, light boats can go as far as Hua-yüan and Mi-no at Yung-sui, and may even be able to reach the city of Sung-t'ao.

C M 501 The boat used in the Miao area generally measures nine kung ch'ih in length, divided into seven holds, the middle hold being the widest, about one kung ch'ih in width (Illus. 18, 19). The oar, the paddle, the pole, the mast, and other attachments of the boat are not different from those seen elsewhere, except that at the bow there is a long paddle about six kung ch'ih long, which is used for coming down the sandbanks. C M [505] Traveling upstream offers the greatest difficulty. Every time a sandbank is crossed, the boat has to be poled, lifted, towed, or pushed by several dozen men. Their chanting is as loud as the angry waves.

C 491 From the middle of the Ming period up to the beginning of the Ch'ing period, soldiers were sent into the Miao area. [523] [648] The most important duty of the military garrisons was to keep the communication lines open for troops and food supplies. So the construction of roads and bridges in the area appears monumental. There are four kinds of land routes: the main road connecting Yunnan with Kweichow is the official road; the roads connecting the various military posts are military roads; the roads traversed by the Chinese people are civilian roads; and M [487] the small winding paths leading to Miao settlements are Miao roads. Taking Feng-huang as the center, the official road leads

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C /44 cont./
491 to Ch'en-chou, Mo-yang, and Chih-chiang; the military roads
lead to Kan-ch'eng, Yung-sui, and T'ung-jen; the civilian
M roads lead to P'u-shih and Kan-ch'eng; and the Miao roads are
[487] on both sides of the military routes, threading out in all directions so numerous that they defy enumeration. The official
and the military roads are all paved with stone slabs (Illus. 20),
requiring considerable construction work. The civilian roads
were not constructed in a uniform way, those passing prosperous
M areas being much better than others. The Miao paths generally
[487] follow the contours of the mountains and require very little human labor. As to the means of transportation, travelers /Illustrations 18-26 occur on pp. 45-52/ /53/ generally ride horses
C M [492] or ride in sedan chairs (Illus. 21), while cargo is carried by
carriers on their backs.
[493] Bridges. — The bridge in the Miao area involve con-
[482] siderable construction work. On important communication
roads, they generally built three or five-arch bridges (Illus. 11),
C on which were built houses for hotels and restaurants for the
[485] convenience of travelers. Places where a river is wide and
shallow are spanned by long bridges (Illus. 22, 23). Places
where a river is wide and deep are crossed by rope bridges
(Illus. 24). In small streams which are narrow and have sandbanks they set up stone steps, customarily called "ho shui ch'iao
/"bridge enclosing the water"/ (Illus. 25), or they build small
bridges (Illus. 26) over them.

2:Ling & Ruey--72 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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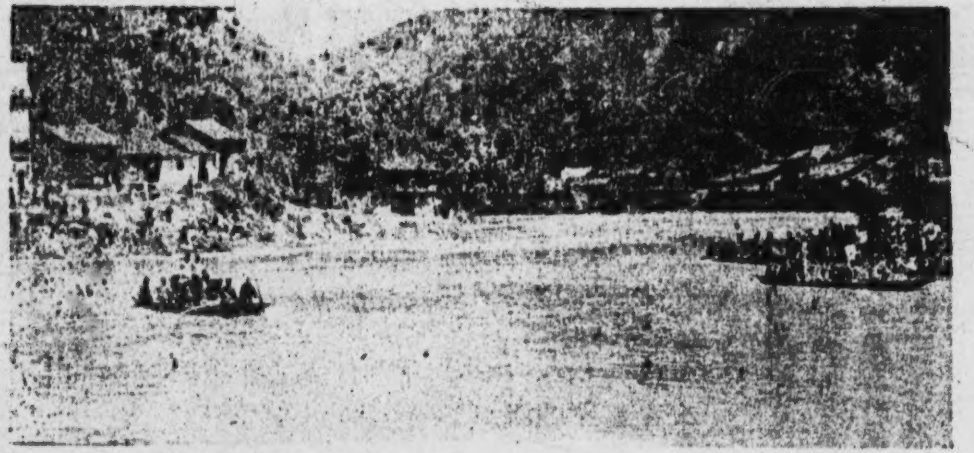

Illus. 18. Dragon-boat-festival boat race on the T'o Chiang River outside Feng-huang city.

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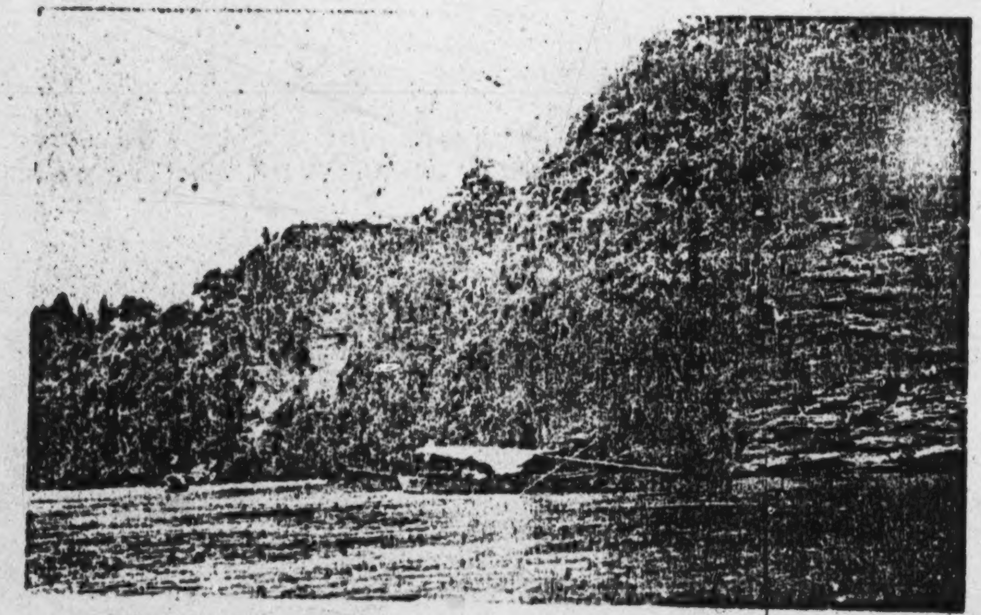

Illus. 19. A small boat navigating the Kao-yen River.

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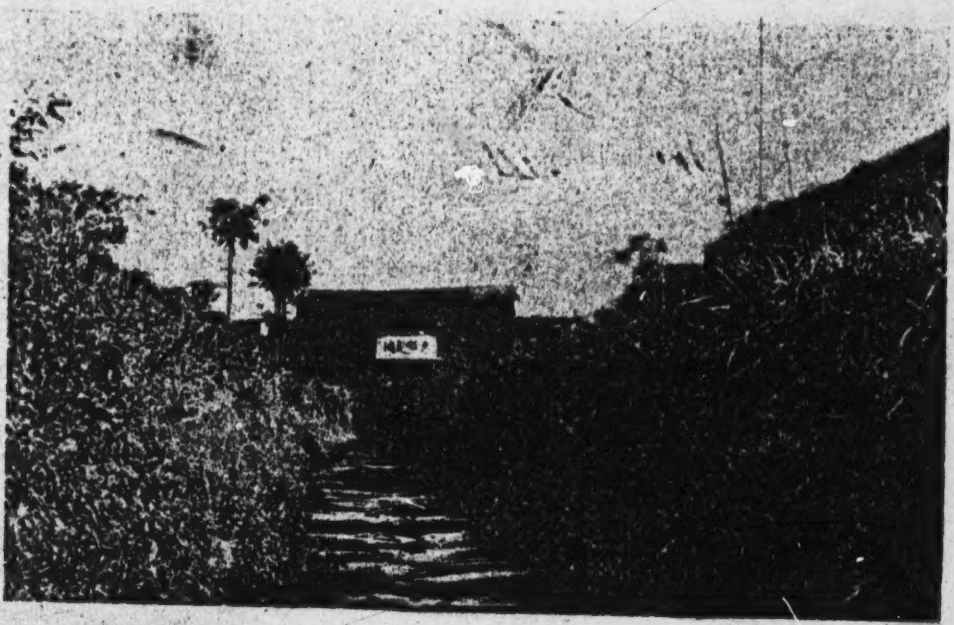
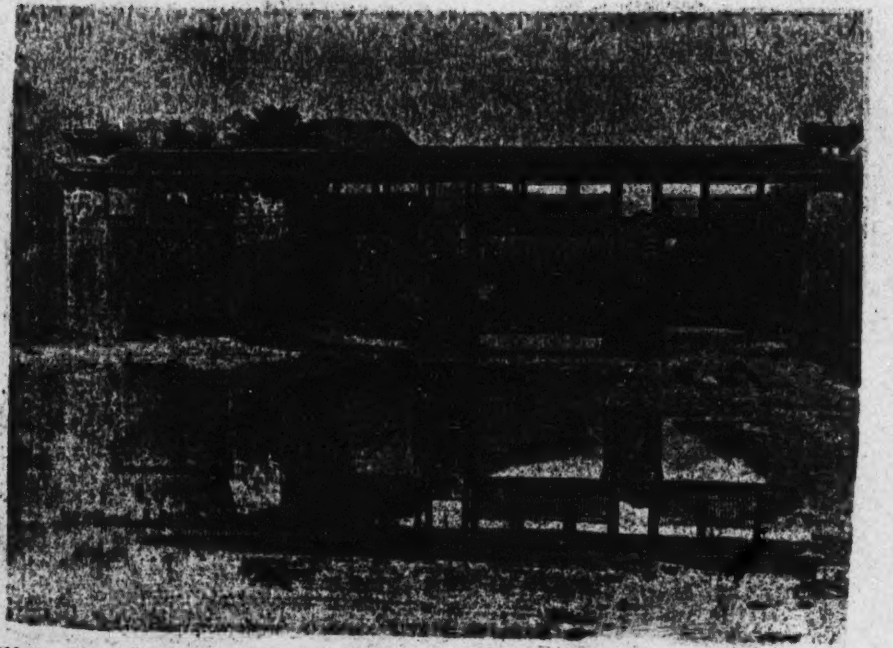
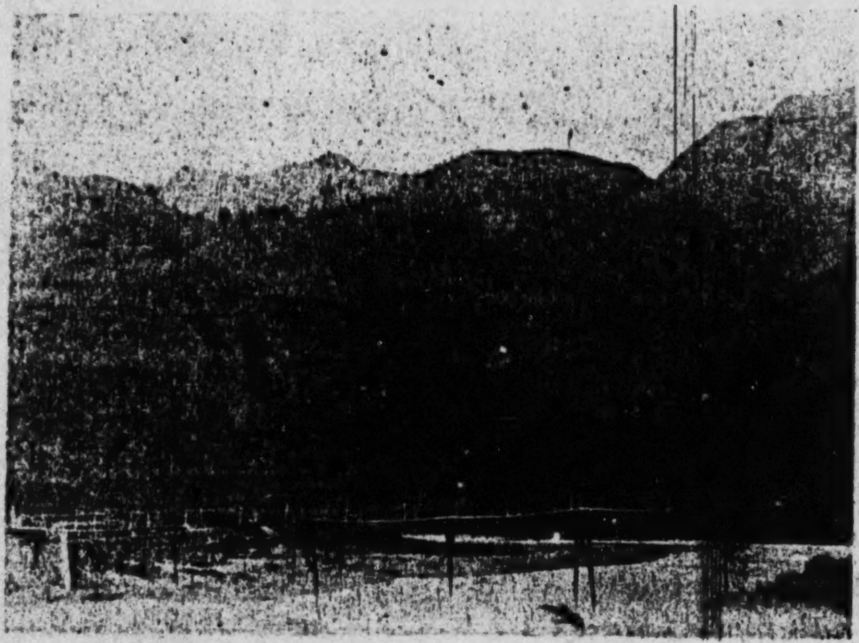


Illus. 20. The rock-slab main road at Ching-pien-kuang, Feng-huang.

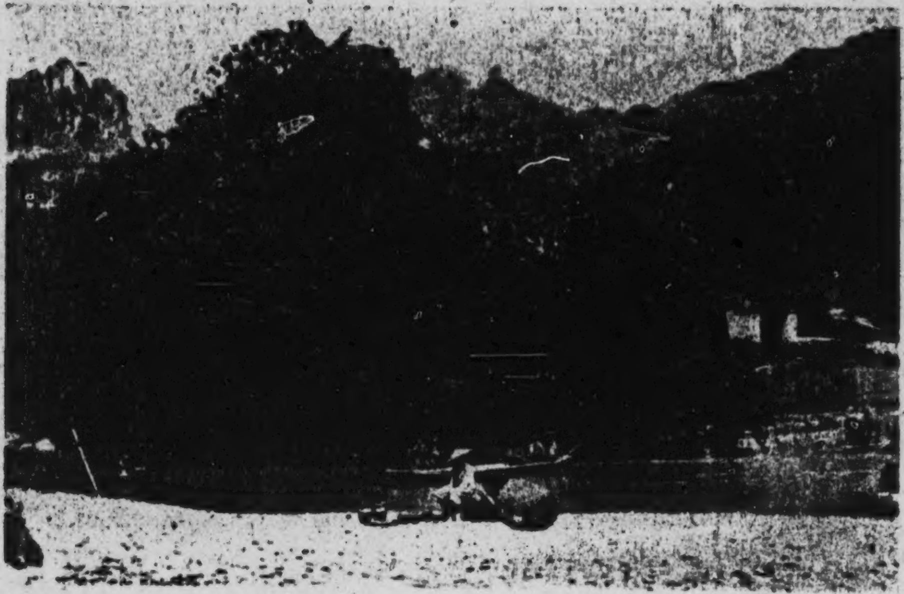
Illus. 21. Sedan chairs with smooth poles [illegible] used by the Miao for travel.



Illus. 22. A stone-stepped long bridge in the Miao area.



Illus. 23. A wood-framework long bridge in the Miao area.



Illus. 24. Rope bridge, Ta-hsin-chai, Kan-ch'eng.

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Illus. 25. Stone-stepped Ho-shui-ch'iao Bridge, in Feng-huang district.

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Illus. 26. Single arch bridge, Ta-ma-p'o, Feng-huang.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is
necessary to study first its geographical environment, because
the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by
geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature,
it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter
we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have
come to understand their natural environment. We are now
prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic
life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made
114 clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by
177 side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line
[439] separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace,
have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts.
Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture
of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced
by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually
also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference
to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese
have lived together for so long, their economic activities at
present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is
characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however,
will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

241 Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we
[114] had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/:
"They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called
slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of
planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences
elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had
thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

/54 cont./
241 agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized
[114] that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer
refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate
[133] mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence
there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are
[243] various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The
inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years
of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary
to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land
to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its
fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it
the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the
recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao
fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then
set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the
field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and
burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields
which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is
called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of
cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals
[243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buck-
wheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley.
[221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the har-
vesting in August and September.

243 Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land
which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded
[221] fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in
August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous
and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are
found in small number only in the small basins in the moun-
tains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the
rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the
[312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water
from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30)
are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

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/55 cont./

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1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. [171] Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I. 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope [332 333] where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields [731 784] to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

/55 cont./
243 and a drought, ensues, an event which is greatly feared by
312 the Miao. Every second and third month plowing ceases for
731. seven days, and harrowing is avoided in order to ward off a
drought. The period of taboo starts from the nineteenth day
784 of the second month to the twenty-third day, and again, from
the thirtieth day of the third month to the first and second day
of the fourth month. According to Miao superstition any violation during the period of taboo would bring on the disaster of
[782] a drought. Only through prayer and repentance can it be
avoided. The violators are required to provide chickens and
[688] pigs for the sorcerer who stands at the highest point of the slope
to offer prayer and sacrifice (called the "sacrifice to the spirit
of the high slope," see the later chapter, "Magic and Religion").
243 When terraced fields come up against floods, although it is
731 not like the lack of harvesting of seeds in a drought, still often
the sudden rush of mountain streams bursts through the terraced
fields and destroys the structure of the fields. Moreover stones
and sand often pile up, which is difficult to repair at once.
Sometimes, the field is reduced to a steep incline or a deep
gulch beyond repair. So, the Miao people toil all year round:
731 in prosperous years they barely miss cold and starvation. In
648 case of disaster, they are unable to look after themselves: the
[432] weak sell their children in exchange for a measure of grain;
[858] the strong form gangs to plunder the countryside. When the
[579] authorities press too hard on these marauders, then widespread
unrest often result. Thus goes the saying: "The Miao area has
a small disturbance every five years, and a large disturbance
every ten years." The reason is not that the Miao are by nature
fond of trouble making, but that they are driven to take
dangerous risks by the pressure of poverty /Illus. 27-31 appear
[161] on pp. 56-60./ /61/ under a condition of overpopulation in
a limited area. Hitherto, each suppression of a Miao disturbance
by the government brought about peace, but it lasted only a
few years before the outbreak of new unrest. Former administrators did not understand that the cause of the Miao disturbances

[text continues on p.89]

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Illus. 27. Wet rice fields in Ya-pao-chai, Feng-huang.

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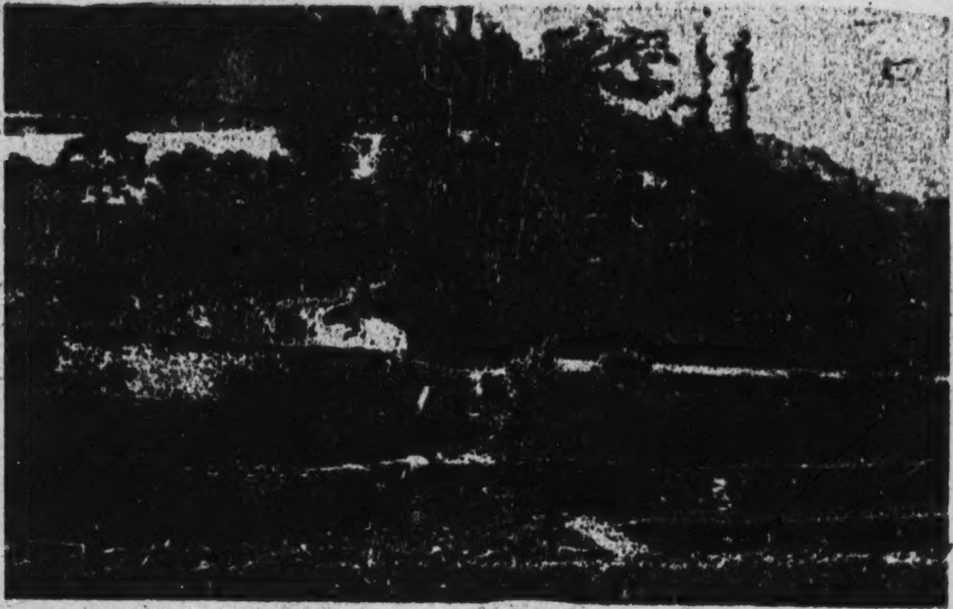

Illus. 28. Terraced fields near Lao-tung-chai, Feng-huang.

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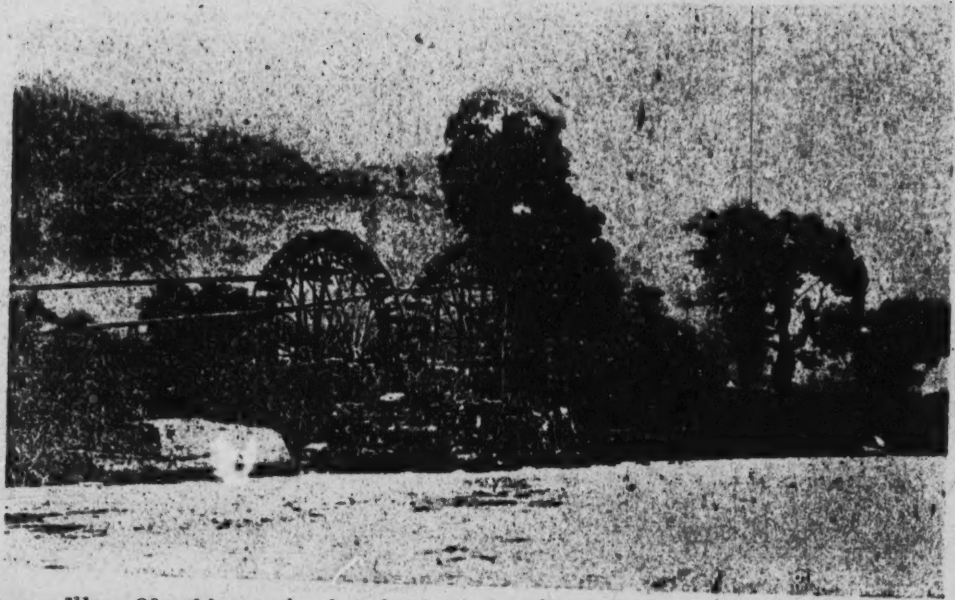
Illus. 29. Terraced fields near Ta-lung-tung, Yung-sui.



Illus. 30. Water wheel on bank of the T'o Chiang.

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Illus. 31. Water mill on bank of the T'ung Ho.

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931 was due not to human nature but to environment. A policy
648 geared to the solution of the basic problem should try to improve the livelihood of the Miao and to remove the pressure of population through migration. Otherwise, Miao disturbances cannot be eliminated and will remain a source of trouble.

241 Restricted by the size of their land area the Miao seek to
433 utilize every inch of land. Comparatively level land is made into fields to be inundated. The slopes from the foot to the waist of the mountain are terraced. The higher slopes are made into yü fields. On mountain land unsuitable for grains are
[245] planted tung trees (Illus. 32), tea plants (Illus. 33), and pine
[258] trees (Illus. 34). Oil can be extracted from tung and tea seeds, and the pine tree yields lumber (Illus. 35), thus providing rela-
[313] tively good profits forming the major part of their income from auxiliary products. Hence, the Miao are experienced in planting the tung tree and tea plants.

245 The planting of the tung trees requires first the selection of a site where not only is the earth suited for the tung tree but where the location is convenient for picking and transportation. If the slope is precipitous, transportation is difficult, and moreover the seeds may roll down into the ravine while being picked. After a place has been picked, the "slash and burn" method of cultivation is used, first all the trees and undergrowth being cut down. After some ten days to a month of sunshine and wind blasts, the felled trees and grass gradually become dried up. Then they set fire to it, and the earth becomes scorched. The soil is dug after it has been well-soaked by rain. Digging generally is done in the spring, in the second and third month, and in the winter in the tenth and eleventh months. The earth has to be dug deep to loosen the soil so that the tung trees can grow tall and big and produce solid seeds, and live a long time. The selection of the tree is guided by the size of the tree and the abundance of the seeds, those of ball shape being preferred. The planting season is from the tenth month to the second month of the next year. Either seedlings are nursed for one

/61 cont./

245 year and then transplanted, or the seeds are planted directly.
The trees are planted from seven to eight ch'ih apart; if they
are too close it is injurious to their growth. Although both
spring and winter are suitable for planting the tung tree,
winter is preferred. The newly reclaimed mountain land
243 still can be also planted with mixed cereals before the tung
245 trees have grown to any great height, for the tung tree planted
the previous winter already has sprouts aboveground in the
spring, and at weeding time injury to the tung reeds in the
ground can be avoided. After two or three years the tung grove
cannot be used to grow any more mixed cereals, and has to
be weeded constantly in order to facilitate their growth.
Otherwise they are liable to die. After four years the trees
245 gradually begin to produce seeds, increasing year by year;
and after six or seven years all of them are producing. They
blossom in the third month of the year, and harvesting is done
[805] in the eighth or ninth month, after the "Cold Dew /a solar
term from October 8-22/." At harvest time the Miao go in
[482] groups up the mountain to pick the tung seeds. Men balance
bamboo baskets on their shoulders, and the women carry them
on their backs. /Illustrations 32-35 on pp. 62-65/ /66/ If
the tree is high they hit the branches with long bamboo poles
to make the seeds fall down and then pick them up. If the
[412] tree is short, they use iron hooks to get them. When the
baskets are full they put them into baskets and carry them
home. They put the seeds under the eaves or any damp place
[258] to enable them to absorb moisture. After a month or two the
outside of the seeds become black, and then they flay the
[439] seeds, which are sold for the extraction of oil. The hulls are
[252] burned into ashes, which can be used in place of soda.

The planting of the tea plant is comparatively easier than that of the tung tree, except that while the tea plant is still a seedling it is necessary to stick pine branches on the sides to shade it from the sun. Otherwise the seedlings are liable to be killed by the sun. Or one can delay the weeding of the field for six or seven months so that the various weeds can

[text continues on p.95]

Illus. 32. Tung trees.

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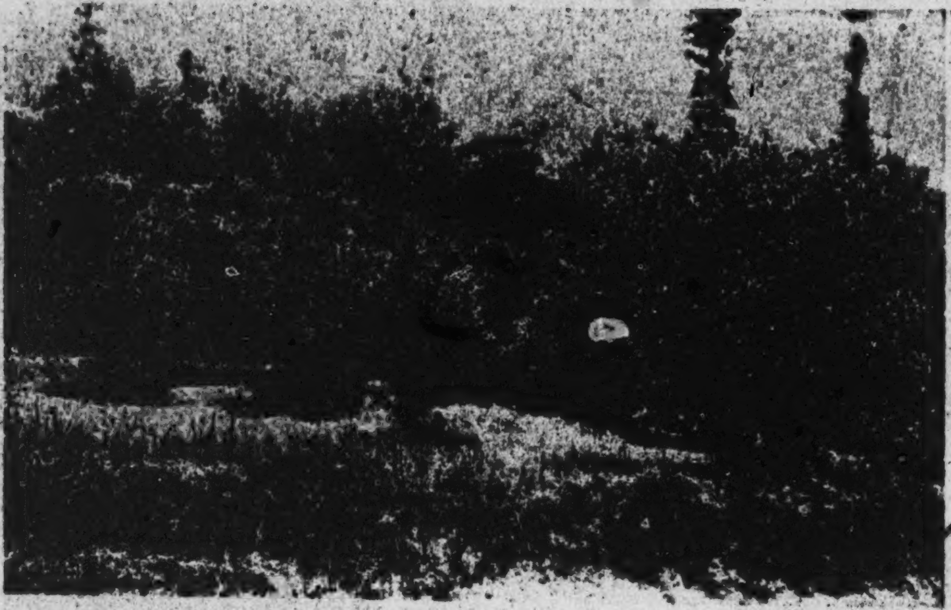

Illus. 33. Tea plants.

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Illus. 34. Pine trees.

Illus. 35. Pine logs.

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/66 cont./
245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao
the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms
in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color,
[262] and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third
[443] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten.
[439] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao
women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth
months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried
in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves,
[258] disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in
the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will
not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

257 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these
[434] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the
oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local
[412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a
mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan. Then water is added
and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of
[415] the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and
placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make
the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual
paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed
[241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste
[388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap
[226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown
into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be
caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao
[249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants,
they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are
one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick
as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches,
reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in
shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the
eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and
before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most
luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo
leaves.

/66 cont./

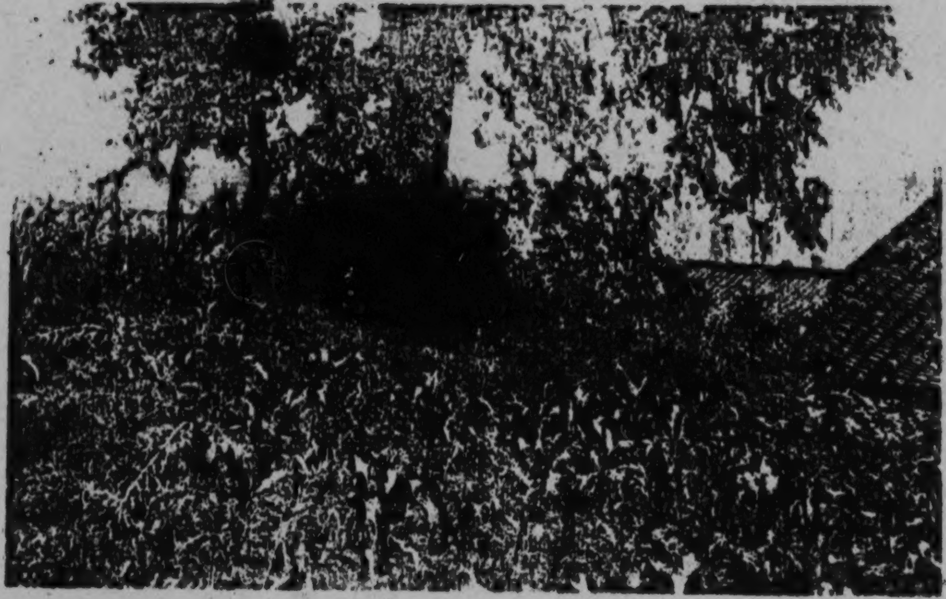
000 leaves. After the picking, they cut the leaves into small pieces 386 of about 40 kung fen, tie them in arm-thick bundles, and place them in a large earthenware jar filled with pure spring water, where they are completely submerged. After three days the jar of clear water becomes dark green in color. The indigo bundles are then removed, and lime water is added to the jar. The ratio is a bowl of lime water to a tan /picul/ of indigo water. The lime is first dissolved in water: the solution is kept and the residue discarded. After being mixed with the lime water the indigo water /67/ is stirred with a stick to blend it. The precipitation is indigo.

249 Although wild indigo grows everywhere, its output in the [314] end is not large. Furthermore, the Miao, men and women, all [291] wear blue cotton clothes. The supply of wild indigo naturally is not enough to meet the demand and domestic indigo has to be cultivated (Illus. 36). It is planted in the second and third months and harvested in the ninth and tenth months before the frost. The output of domestic indigo is larger than that of wild indigo. The Miao usually dig a hole about two kung ch'ih [386] deep for making indigo. The process is the same as that for wild indigo.

The Miao also plant sugar cane in the low-lying places in deep valleys. The land for this crop must have fine soil and dry. On the periphery as well as in the center of the field several ditches are dug for draining water in case of rain. To plant sugar cane, they cut the cane into short lengths of about three or four nodes, planting three or four of them together. When they grow up they become a cluster. The clusters are about half a kung ch'ih apart. At planting time the sections are put into the earth, with the top ends slightly slanting, which are also covered with earth. After half a month, when the sprouts come out, light fertilizer is added. When they grow to a height of half a kung ch'ih, fertilizer is again put on. In all they are fertilized four or five times, and each time the earth is weeded and the soil loosened. Four or five days after the first frost in the ninth or tenth month the crop may be

249 /67 cont./
harvested. After harvest the canes are tied up, 50 to a bundle,
249 and stored in earth pits about one kung ch'ih deep. The pits
251 are first lined with cane leaves, on which the sugar cane are
laid in rows. More leaves are laid on top and then covered
with dirt. Ventilation tubes are stuck in to ensure a free flow
of air in order to prevent decay. On market day, the canes
[443] are carried to market for sale.

The Miao area also produces native tobacco. Beginning
249 with the tenth and eleventh months the Miao nurse tobacco
[343] seedlings. Above the seedbed a thatched shelter with a slanting roof is erected to protect the seedlings from frost and snow.
After they sprout they are watered and fertilized with ashes,
manure, or tung paste. Transplanting takes place in the following spring in the third and fourth months. Fields for tobacco
cultivation have to be plowed very early to reduce insect pests,
[825] according to the Miao. The insect called t'u ch'a erh only eats
tobacco plant roots. Tobacco seedlings are transplanted in
rows, by first crushing the earth into powder by hand, then
burying the roots of the seedling in the earth and pressing the
earth tight around the plant. If the earth is dry, then it should
be watered at the root and the stem. After three or five days
some mild fertilizer may be applied. Insect pests are the worst
enemy of tobacco. Besides the t'u ch'a erh, which eats the
[825] roots, green hoppers eat the leaves. So, in tobacco growing
a great deal of labor is spent in catching insects, which has to
be done in the early morning, for later the t'u ch'a erh dig
through the earth and it is difficult to find them. The tobacco
plant is never allowed to grow too high, and has to be clipped
from time to time to ensure the growth of more full and firm
leaves. During harvest time the tobacco leaves are cut down
leaf by leaf, /Illustration 36 on p. 68/ /69/ and stacked up for
one or two nights. Then they are tied up with straw ropes and
hung up to dry in the sun, being taken indoors at night. If a
good color is wanted, then in good weather they should be exposed outside overnight to absorb the dew. The resulting color
will be a beautiful, golden yellow.



Illus. 36. Native indigo..

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there
is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot
when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the
quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements,
good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is pro-
duced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp
248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are
important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat
262 sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching
231 fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and
459 fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan
and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields
they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where
the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing
out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields.
To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets
are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day.
At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments,
on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds.
Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable
oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on
a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted
by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places.
Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to
these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from
these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo
227 pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair.
171 The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chinese,
and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes,
825 and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain
227 at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces
of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the
spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become
more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a
piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./
226 from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch
[227] fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting
dams up and down stream, then cast the poison in the water to
render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The
[278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow
leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato
seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are
scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed
are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve,
and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo
with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the
water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell
the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface,
and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an
illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow
place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put
a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/.
It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of
stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes
the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by
the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen.
Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs,
[492] chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important.
Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and
[262] sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for
[241] fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer
in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao
women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did
not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese
[439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets
of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

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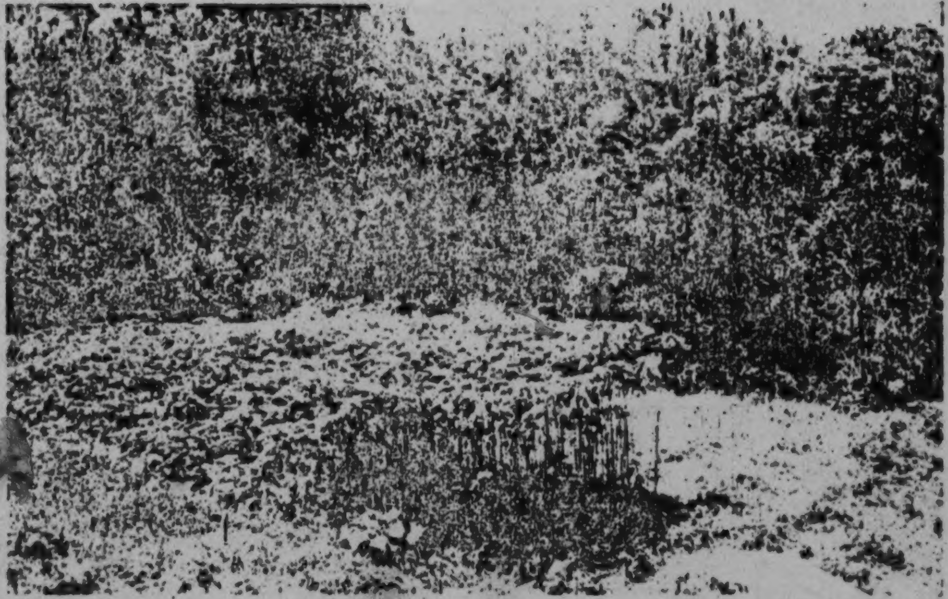
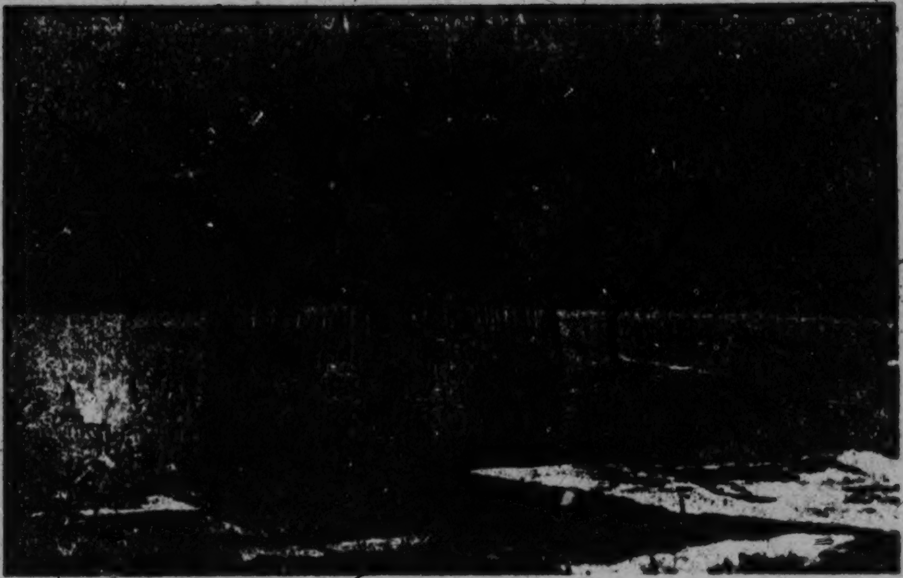


Illus. 37. Hemp plants.



Illus. 38. Fish pond.

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/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's
[291] clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms
from eggs themselves.

The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They
[285] weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on
the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39)
for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
[237] wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among
the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are
used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps,
mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back
[482] carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back.
Women going into the fields often place their babies in the
carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the
use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade.
Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao
villages to exchange for their local products, but there were
many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ 439 /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan,
Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water 252

[text continues on p. 106]

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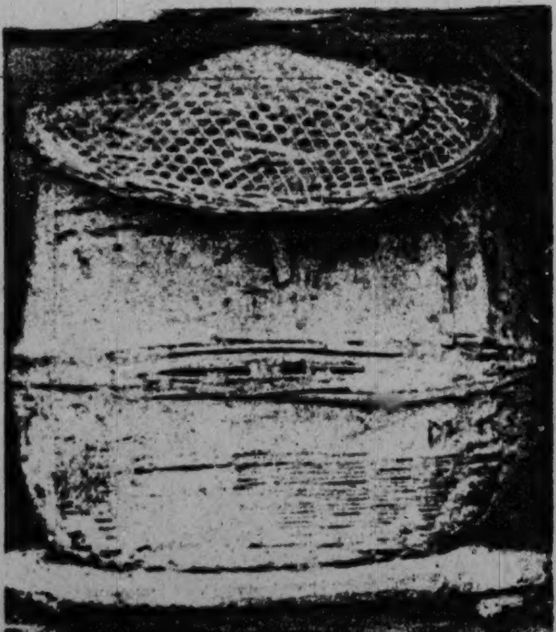

Illus. 39. A honeycomb.

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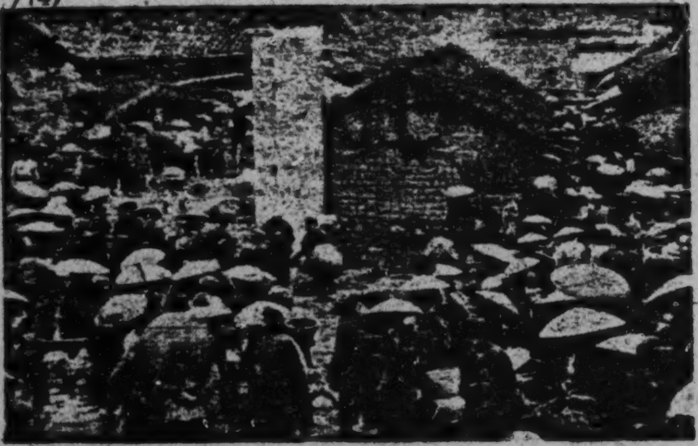
443 

Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and
baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal
and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous
kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed
[273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine.
The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year,
and is largely used for making wine. There are also these
two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the
Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large-
[439] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume
[262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are
steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney
beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork; pepper seeds, garlic; leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/75 cont./

262 pods, eggplant, bracken, etc. The recipes are briefly as follows:

252 There are two ways of making sour fish, raw and cooked. To prepare sour cooked fish, a fish is cut open, cleaned, and dried by the fire in a pan until the scales become yellow. Then it is rubbed with salt and dried in the sun for a few days. It is next mixed with a certain amount of millet and put into a jar. On top of the fish is laid a layer of tung leaves, and the jar is also stopped up with tung leaves. The jar is turned upside down on the ground or in a basin of water which is added to from time to time. The idea is not to allow air to get in. After one month the fish may be taken out and fried. The making of sour raw fish is slightly different. After being split open and cleaned the fish is rubbed with salt, seasoned with spices, and placed in a jar. After four months it can be taken out and eaten either raw or fried in fat or oil.

The preparation of sour beef and pork is identical. The meat is washed with clear water and diced or cut into small pieces and then fried in a pan until it is half done. Some salt is added, and then the meat is dished out into a bowl to cool, mixed with *chan* rice and *no* rice powder, and put in a jar. After ten or more days it may be taken out and fried or boiled in water.

There are four kinds of sour peppers — green, red, *chan*, and *no*. The green peppers are washed and cooked a little in a pan. They should not be well done, for if well done they spoil easily. They are then taken out and left to dry in the sun. The stems are cut off, and the peppers placed in a jar and covered with tung leaves, and again the jar is stopped up with rice straw and stood inverted in a small basin. After a month they are ready to be eaten. The sour red peppers are made differently. Without cooking or drying in the sun they only cut off the stems, and then put them in a jar in the same way. After a month they may be taken out and fried to eat. According to the Miao this type of sour peppers taste best. The making of the sour *chan* and *no* peppers is the same. Either the green

/75 cont./

252 or the red pepper may be used. They are washed and cut fine and crushed with a pestle. For every four chin of peppers it is necessary to add one sheng of corn flour. After it has been mixed well, it is put into a jar. The rest of the method is the same as that stated above. After a month or two it may be taken out and fried and eaten. After being well fried, the pepper become powdery, whereas the no pepper ends up lumpy. They look and taste different.

/76/ Sour garlic and sour shallots /hu ts'ung/ are prepared in the same way. The garlic and shallots are washed and dried in the sun. They are washed once again, and after being dried in the shade, chopped fine with a knife and put in a jar. Sometimes corn flour is added. The rest of the recipe is as above. They may be eaten after a month or more has passed.

There are four kinds of sour root-vegetables: dried shreds, dried lumps, wet shreds, and wet lumps. The dry method consists of shredding the turnips, etc., or pounding them into small pieces, then drying them slightly in the sun, after which they are put in a jar. The wet root shreds and lumps are made entirely differently. The roots are cut into shreds or lumps and placed in a jar. Some already soured vegetables are added as agents, and then boiling rice water from rice being cooked is poured in. The jar is placed near the fireplace /huo t'ang/ or beside the stove to keep it warm. The mouth of the jar is sealed with paper and covered with either slate or a wooden board. The vegetables are done after one or two days.

Wet sour greens, wet sour taro and wet sour Chinese cabbage are made in just the same way as the wet sour turnips.

The sour pea and bean pods are made by cooking them a little so they are only half done. They are drained and dried in the sun. After cooling off overnight they may be placed in a jar.

The sour eggplant is made by chopping eggplant into shreds, drying these in the sun and cooling overnight, after which they may be eaten.

/76 cont./

252 The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered
[222] and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked,
it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put
in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with
straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in
making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked
[415] rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members
gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables
were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they
252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half
262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted;
earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and
grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel
with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy,
which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several
[554] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

/77 cont./

252 miscellaneous food. This
262 was called yin. Maggots
and worms were the delicacies.
The wealthy kept buckets of
yin for many generations."
This was probably the same
as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the
[177] old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own
consumption.

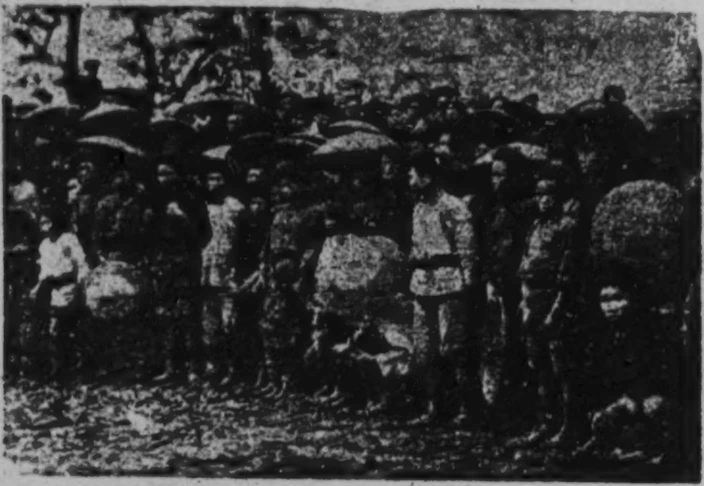
291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[177] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman
302 shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top
[622] of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth
[177] like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out
[515] the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those
000

/77 cont./ Today, those
291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe
in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the
women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's
clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and
was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them
as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They
only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show
an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/
but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[531] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown
must have required a lot of work.

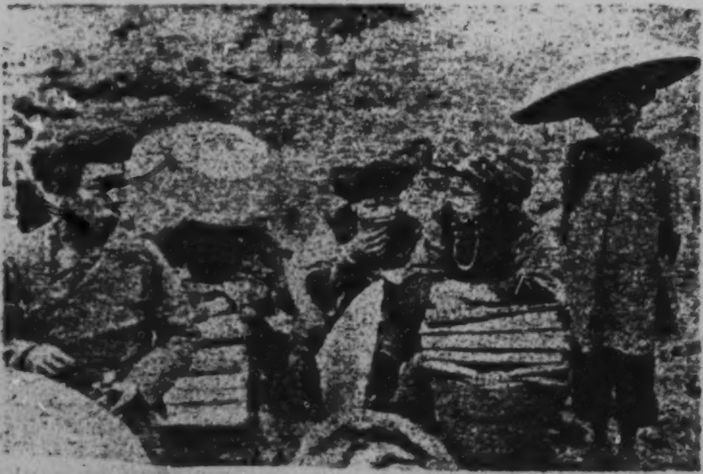
291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not
[177] pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel,
and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments
have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and
the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese.
Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao
women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel.
About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a
narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two
borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread.
On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders.
But for the most part there is no collar.

292 Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
[531] and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human
figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole
life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years
before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[764] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]



Illus. 41. Miao male men's dress seen at a street market place in Ta-hsin-chiai, Feng-huang.



Illus.42. Miao women's dress seen at a street market place in Hsin-chai, Feng-huang.

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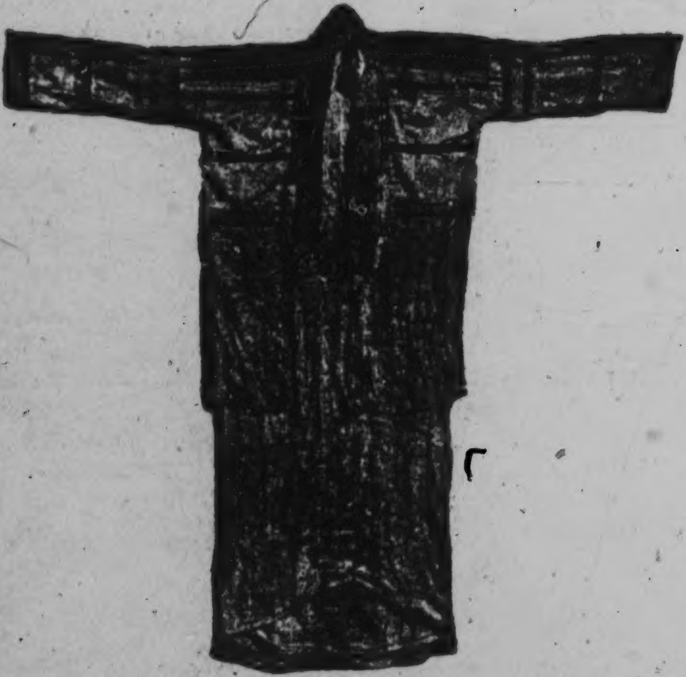

Illus. 43. Front view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (2)

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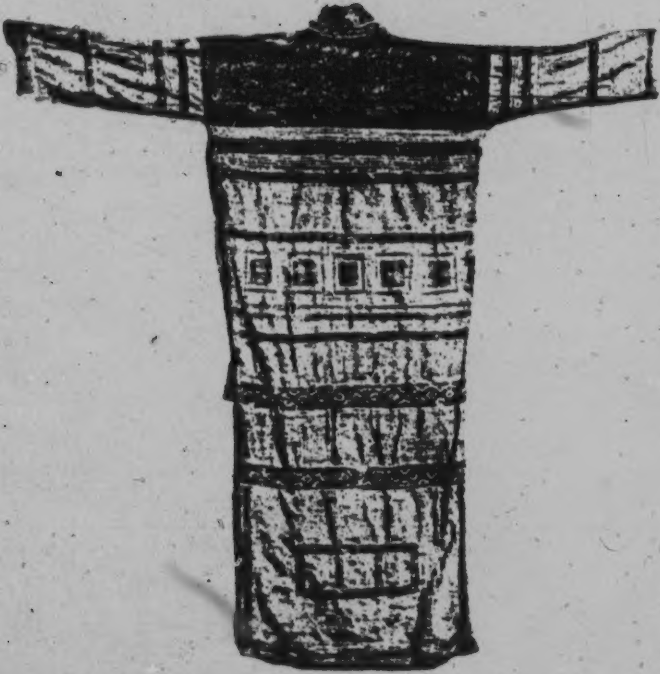

Illus. 44. Back view of a long gown of a Miao man of Sung-lin-shao, Meng-tzu, Yunnan. (1)

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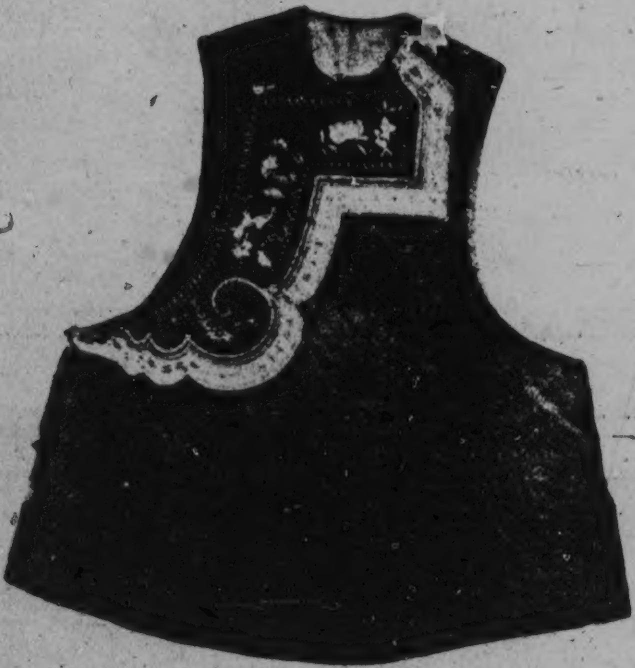
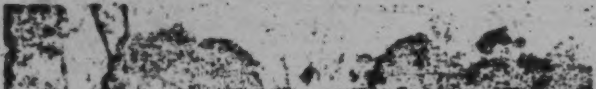


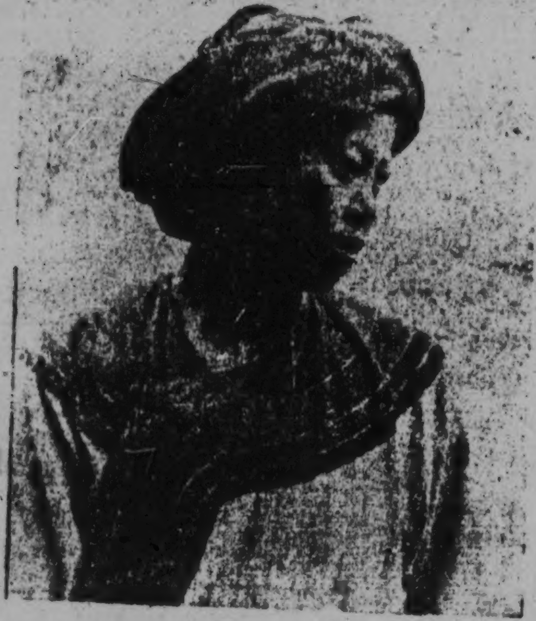
Illus. 52. A Kan-ch'eng Miao woman's vest.

292 /88 cont./
[764] festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The
Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).

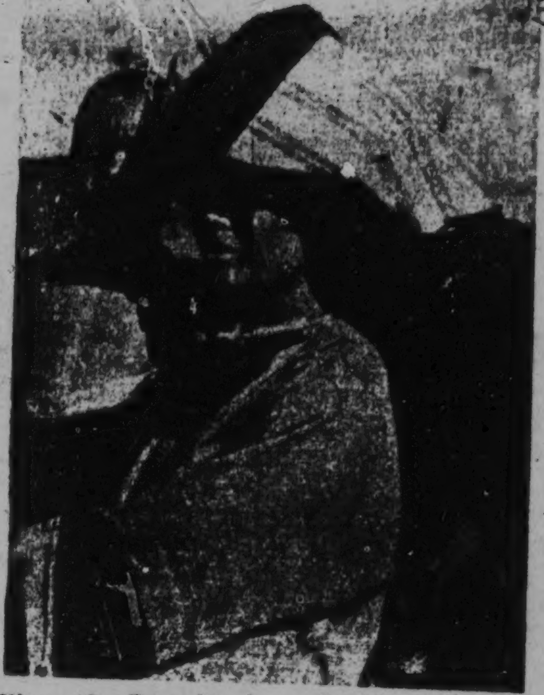
291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan,
regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua
[184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The
Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts.
When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days
they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western
[126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of
red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of
[292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for
dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear
hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt
in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper



Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.



Illus. 45. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (1)



Illus. 46. Everyday dress of a Miao woman, Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang. (2)

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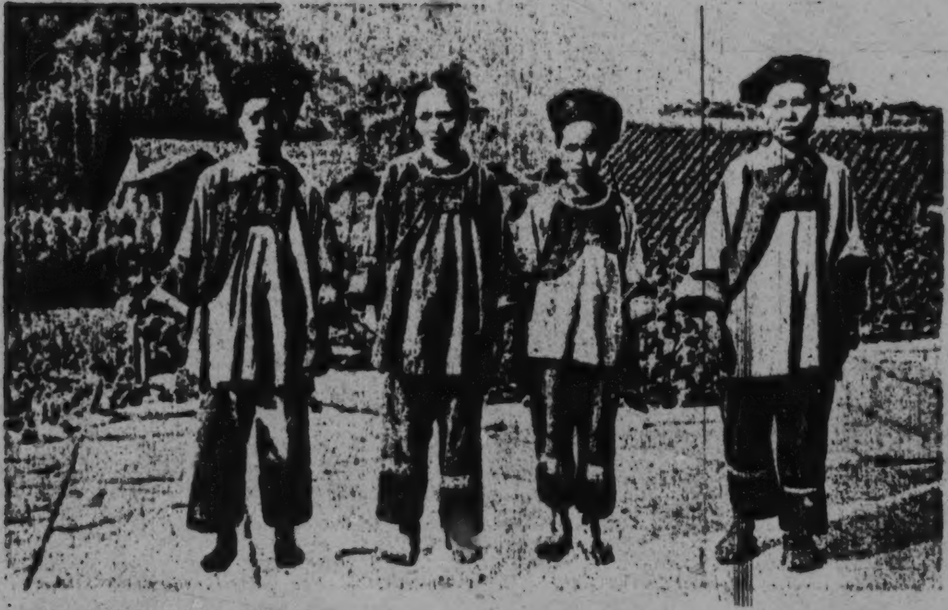
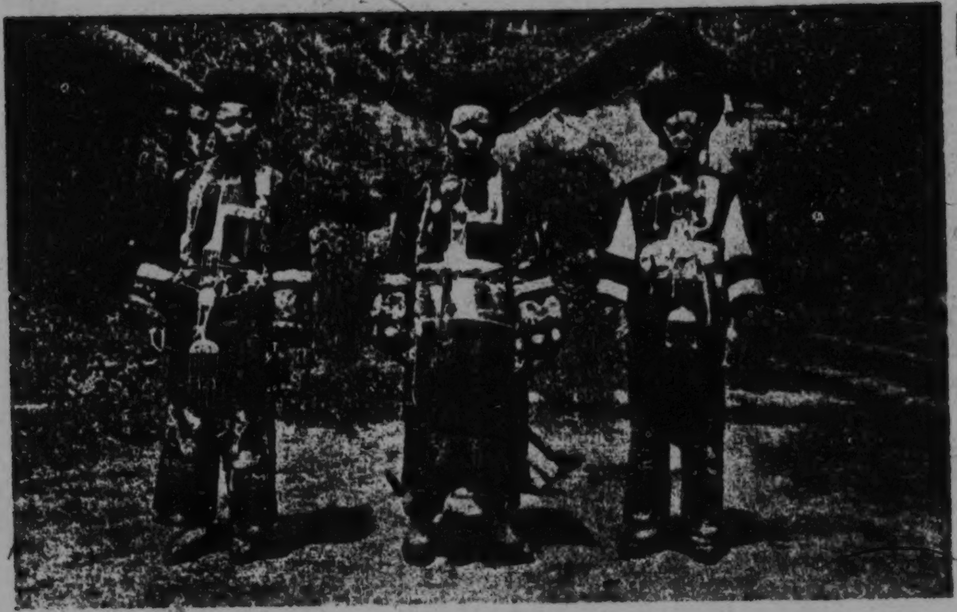


Illus. 47. Miao women's personal adornment, Ta-hsin-chiai, Kan-ch'eng.



Illus. 48. Gayly dressed Miao women seen at Kao-yen-ho, Yung-sui. (They had not brought along neck rings, hence they are not wearing any.)

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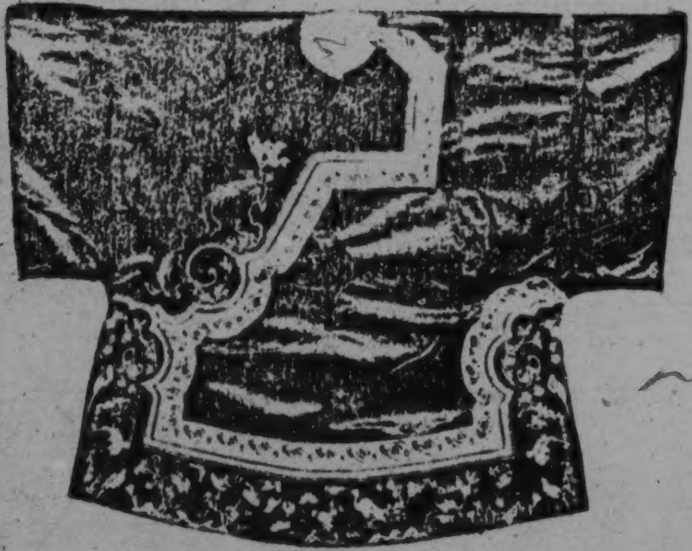

Illus. 49. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (1).

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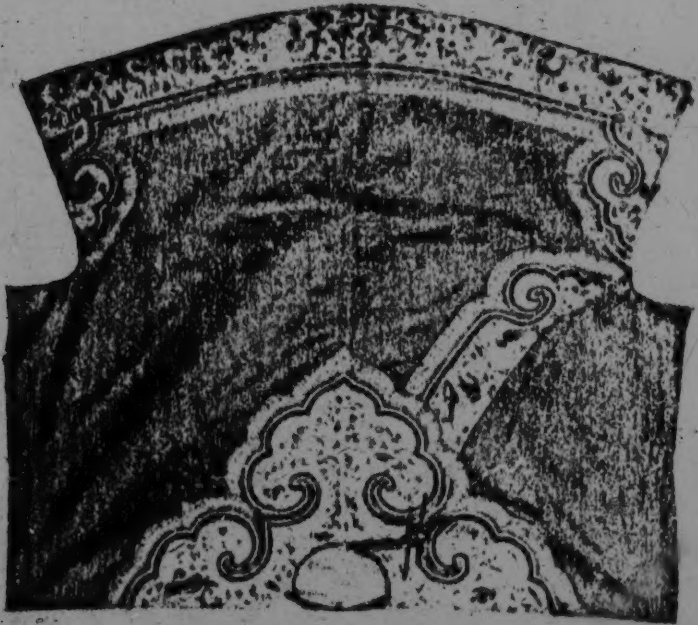

Illus. 50. A Kan-ch'eng Miao bride's garment (2).

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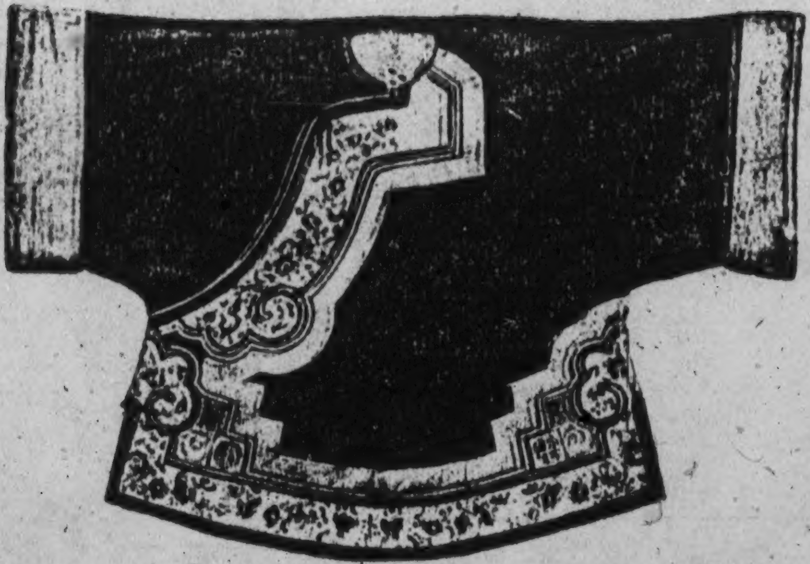

Illus. 51. A Kan-ch'eng bride's garment (3).

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a
double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and
[574] friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a
strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can
be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers.
Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth
around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus.
48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese.
/Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands
can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type
(Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head,
which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in
which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a
round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the
cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material
is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth
used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green
cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly
use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas
the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that
302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's.
[585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the
unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which
hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings,
earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands
and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the
neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter
is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are
also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by
[171] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the
most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/89 cont./

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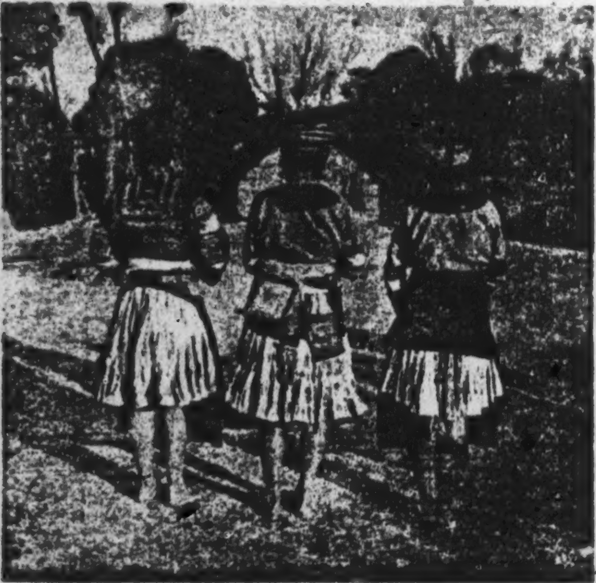

Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign
cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native [illegible]
cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

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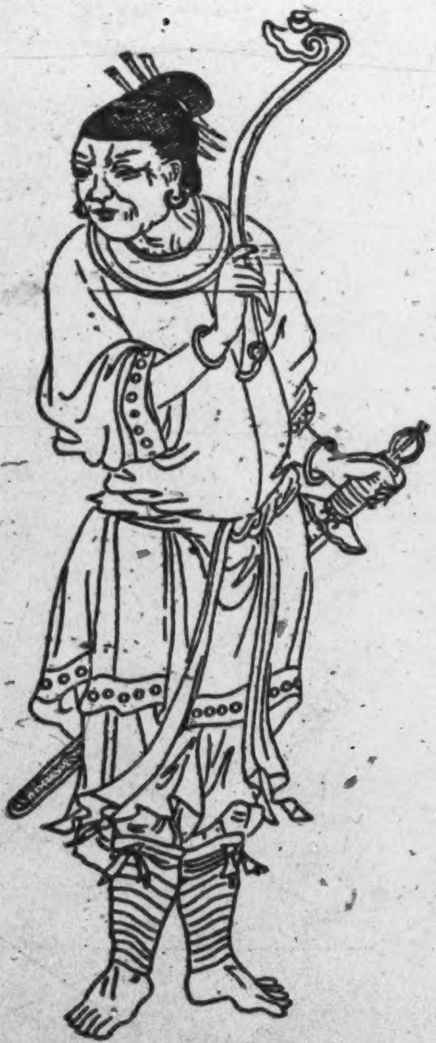

Illus. 55. Men's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

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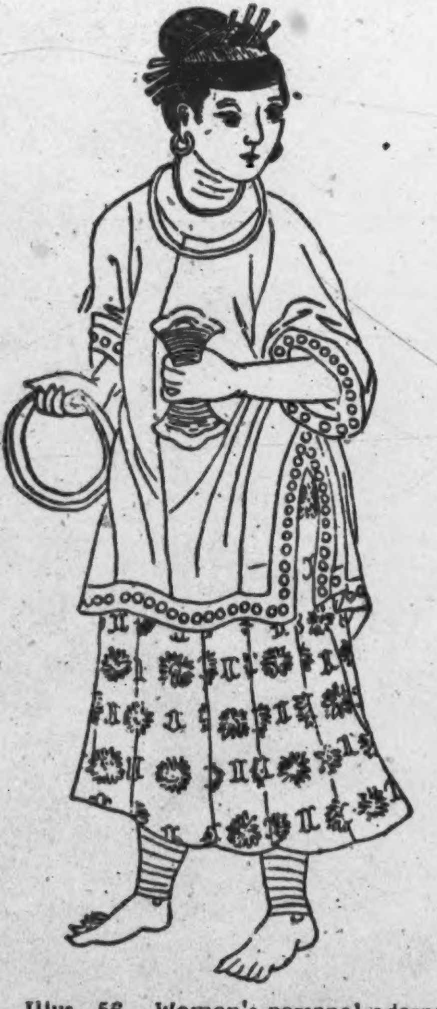

Illus. 56. Women's personal adornment of 200 years ago among the Hung Miao of such places as Yung-sui and Kan-ch'eng. (According to Huang Ch'ing Chih-kung T'u.)

/92 cont./

000 was very different from that today. The section on dress in
175 Vol. 11 of the T'ing Chih says: "Among the Miao formerly
291 only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their
301 hair into hair knots and wrapped their heads in cloth. They
302 removed facial hair like the women. They wore short garments
[515] and went barefooted, and tied red cloth around their loins over
green-blue cloth gowns. The borders of the top garment and
[531] the cuffs of the trousers sometimes were embroidered with
[556] colorful designs. The wealthy restrained their hair with netting,
fastened by four or five silver hairpins as long as daggers, flat
[304] at the top and round at the bottom. Their two ears were pierced
by silver rings as large as bowls, their necks encircled by silver
rings, and their wrists bore silver bracelets. Their legs were
wrapped with green cloth. Their feet, like those of animals,
[481] could scale trees as fast as monkeys. In climbing dangerous
[292] places and going through bamboo groves they could go like race
horses. In rain, they wore sandals. The women wore silver
hairpins, neck rings, bracelets, and bound their legs, altogether
[304] just like the men, but their two ears were pierced with three or
four rings. Their clothes were longer than the men's, with low
[531] collars slanting down, decorated with tin strips and red wool
or embroidered with plant designs. The rich wore a large silver
[554] comb in the hair, with the hair knot closely circled with silver
chains and wrapped in a green embroidered turban. They wore
no belt at the waist and no undergarments. They wore em-
[531] broidered skirts that had blue and red lines, and there were
also those with tin bells tacked on and flowers embroidered on
not less than two or three strips, as distinguished from the men.
The unmarried women parted their hair in the middle and plaited
a braid which hung behind, decorated with shells, tin bells,
and pearls. Winter or summer they wore unlined garments, and
even in very cold weather they only wore two or three layers.
[481] In the wind and snow they walked hunching their backs." This
description agrees with the pictures drawn in the Huang Ch'ing
Tzu Kung T'u of Hung Miao men and women of such places
as Yung-sui and Kan-chou (Illus. 55, 56).

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /*sic*/ of the Miao is the
family, and moreover their family structure is the small family
system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under
age. This kind of small family system is the original system
of the Miao. The *Miao Fang Pei Lan*, in the chapter on
[591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and
brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows
up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is
another household." Because of the small family system their
[573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the
house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and
children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a
separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice
[595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together
with the wife, or to live separately. In the family
[462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but household
[423] chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family
[422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture,
tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets
[582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property
in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A
girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system
among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely
to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system,
clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there
551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and
Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung
were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung
/"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/
Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written
with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also
582 with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they
have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization
[614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage
between people of the same surname. However, no marriage
[177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they
have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of
[551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/
was changed to be written with the character shih meaning
"time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be
written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order
to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big
177 dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family
594 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and
marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs,
764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young
men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse
with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On
the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds
their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her
lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him.
[345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of
young men and women to gather together. For instance, in
Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in
Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built
near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered
[584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a
betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing
[517] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would
[533]

/94 cont./
836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
577 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533 from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing
535] for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form
groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak.
After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking,
even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called
fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the ap-
[584] proval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of
Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they
betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-
law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no
son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him.
Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry.
The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable
mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the
same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname
whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the
father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins
cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal
society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal
uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the so-
ciety is additional evidence.

574 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says:
"Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the
/Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing
a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix
the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses
and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage
go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
000 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a
parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol.
Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[589] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from
cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not
enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall.
Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look
left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear
that she may be fond of some one else. The couple takes each
a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next
they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at
each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home
they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night to-
[582] gether." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
between people of the same surname, but relatives do not
marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother,
who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a
gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is
generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth,
do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between
to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the
contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
as compensation. If ~~a~~ husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife
may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have
become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What
is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/95 cont./

584 [177] Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice, and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine [550] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement, which in the Miao language is called (ȵaŋ˥ tɛ˨ m̥pʻa˥), meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/ fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/."

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense [782] has to take place, which is called /ʑoŋ˥ tʻi ɣ˨), with the meaning of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally [583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat. [550] [583] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, firecrackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items. These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom, followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father, to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go. When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

/95 cont./
584 brothers in the girl's family. After entering the door and a brief
[782] rest, the ceremony of sticking incense before the ancestral
tablet of the girl's family begins. The groom kowtows three
times. If he is not present, his father kowtows in his place.
If the groom is present he must also kowtow to his future father-
in-law, mother-in-law, and other elders. If the girl's family
[556] is wealthy, then a pig will be killed to entertain the guests
from the groom's family. The guests remain in the girl's family
574 for three days, during which the immediate relative of the
584 girl's family take turns in entertaining them with meals, called
"meals from door to door." The closest relatives must enter-
[264] tain the visitors at breakfast, because breakfast is considered
the most important meal in the Miao countryside. For instance,
say there are six families, A, B, C, D, E, and F, with A and C
being the closest relatives. Dinner on the first evening is given
by the host family; /96/ breakfast on the second day is given
by family A, lunch by family E, and dinner by family B. On
the third day breakfast is given by family C, lunch by family
F, and dinner by family D. When the guests are seen off on
the fourth day, breakfast is given by the host family. As a
rule three meals are served in a day, but when there are a large
[264] number of /clan/ brothers there are five or six meals in one day.
583 After breakfast on the fourth day the guests depart. Return
584 presents from the girl's family consist of a suit of clothes, a
pair of shoes, and a hat for the future son-in-law, a piece of
material for a pair of trousers for each guest, a pair of shoes
each for the parents of the groom, and a pig's leg for the go-
between.

585 A few months or half a year before the marriage the go-
787 between visits the girl's family to ask for the date and time
777 of her birth. He must bring with him two or four strings of cash
584 and some sweetmeats. This ceremony is called "asking for the
lucky birth date." The girl's birth date and time thus obtained
are matched with those of the groom in order to pick an aus-
picious day for the wedding. The date is communicated to
583 the girl's family through the go-between. They then begin to

/96 cont./

583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.
301 Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's
585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's
177 family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and
756 meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the
782 ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kow-
787 tows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet. After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and
554 mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way. If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At
585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense
782 and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.
756 A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

> "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune,
> 539 Heaven and earth open out.

/96 cont./

585 The bride arriving here brings
782 Great luck and great prosperity.
539 The peach tree is young and beautiful and upright!
The maiden goes to her bridegroom's house to become a pair of phoenixes.
Acting correctly toward the members of the family, she descends from the sedan chair,
Lightly she moves with short steps into the decorated hall.
The bride's family's carriage and horses turn and go back.
The husband's carriage and horses come out to welcome her.
And after this exchange of carriages and horses,
Heaven will be long and earth lasting;
Earth will be lasting and heaven long."

At this point he takes hold of a cock and continues:

"This chicken is not an ordinary one,
It is the chicken which announces dawn to the Prince's Mother.
Wearing a heroic comb and a fine beak,
Dressed in silk gauze clothes in five hues,
People of this world have no use for it.
/97/ But I use it to exorcise evil influences,
Of heaven and earth,
Of the year, the month, the day, the hour,
[776] And of the twelve evil spirits.
The evil influences of heaven return to heaven;
Of the earth returns to Hades.
Thus, the evil spirits retreat
And the lucky stars descend."

On finishing the incantation he bites open the comb of the cock and sprays its blood on the ground. Returning to the house, he sets another square table like the one before and continues:

"O! ye, holy spirits of the heavens
And the holy spirits of the earth!

/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the
male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, " " "
female immortals/
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon.*

585 [788] [264] [756] At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat, and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat, the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed [777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a [824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer [756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/97 cont./
585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The
brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the
groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece
of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled
on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed.
After these things have been done, the wedding feast
[574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli,
[262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing
533 begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while
men and women of the host family gather in another group.
585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one
of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk
Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing,
they use all means to encourage them. The phrases
sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition
they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and
praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and
losing: for instance, if A's singing says B is polite, and B is
not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned
the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette,
and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the
winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity
whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to
solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The
loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole
group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then
the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs
back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the
[264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing
the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to
be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated,
because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects
for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three
nights; but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk
Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and
574 585 nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain

/98 cont./
574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
585 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of
the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count
and announce the number of presents from the bride's family.
First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the
son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from
the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's
family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record
the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return
to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the
girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the
bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers
receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids
also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family
receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women
sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other.
(See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22,
"Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room.
When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along
and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her
new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good
looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds
for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The
children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man,
but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to
the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the
children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

/98 cont./

587 A widow has freedom of sexual intercourse. There is no
definite period of mourning for her deceased husband and she
[589] may remarry at any time, except that she must have the ap-
[836] proval of the brothers of the deceased husband. If either the
[765] elder or the younger brother of the deceased wishes to marry
the widowed sister-in-law, then she may not marry an outsider.
Otherwise she returns to her family to marry again. At the
time of the second marriage a sorcerer priest is also asked to
perform the ritual. There is no go-between nor a formally set
date. At the wedding the "shame-covering parasol" must be
opened fully. On reaching her new husband's home she enters
by the front entrance. /99/ A widow may marry again and
again. Furthermore, she can have a husband marry into her
household.

(3) Birth

842 Despite the hard life of the Miao, the desire for sons is
[782] very strong with both rich and poor. When a Miao man has no
son at middle age he must pray to the gods and make a vow,
843 for the early birth of a son. A pregnant Miao woman keeps on
844 working. At the time of delivery, they use a bamboo sifter
placed on the ground, lined with cotton wadding on which is
placed a layer of ragged garments. The woman stands with
her legs apart, the body slightly bending, her two hands gripping
the side of a bed or a bench. If she happens to be working on
a mountainside and does not have time to get back home, then
she chooses a place under the shade of a tree where she can
easily get a grip. If the newborn child does not cry, she digs
[825] out a blood clot from its mouth, or sometimes she keeps a cat
ready on the side, and hits it to make it meow so as to startle
the infant awake. In case of complicated childbirth, an ex-
845 perienced old woman in the village is asked to help extract
the child with the hands. Should an infant die in the womb,
it is taken out with a hook, or sometimes a sorcerer priest is

845 /99 cont./
asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the
844 infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the
placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold
water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days
846 she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a
woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the
afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by
[278] eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eats
[556] eggs and the rich eats chicken.

553 Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of
[177] inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony
on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes
551 adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child
is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month.
The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the
[805] reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu,
Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the
birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the
infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing
so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In
still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep,
dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to
raise.

853 There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally
when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the
baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,
856 if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill
[787] omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal
[763] grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a
[826] grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion
847 by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned.
848 Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
[177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
[113] 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
(1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
[787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
there a hole three or four chih deep is dug, which is lined
with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
765 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
769 offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local
products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
764 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
[113] planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
[782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
disaster.'"

/100 cont./
000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of *Sung-t'ao Chih-li* *T'ing Chih* /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest
on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach
to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[765] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich
[556] sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes
left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered
beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each
other. This is called *tiao ku* /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[752] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut
[768] into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the
burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when
a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned
782 for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath."
The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of
white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A
bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several
yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled
in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked
to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his
clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then
his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60
threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes
have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches
in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called *liu
ch'uang* /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[752] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of
straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./
756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his
right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the
basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering
the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the
dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a
thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo
into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations.
After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped,
his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the
incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes
his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come
chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
[177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are
written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the
important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places.
When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
764 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
606 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork,
a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and
firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a
tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/
feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and
duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast,"
together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles.
764 Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
[177] as the Chinese.

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
[606] first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
[782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered
in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony,
the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved
family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/101 cont./
764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to
show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony.
After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of
764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress'
604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a
605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over,
he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved
family and those on the maternal side who came with the
maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been
drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved
family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as
the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa
chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain
number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat,
towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative"
each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth
"for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the
others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various
604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the
time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession
he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap
his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white
towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the
coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of
[789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he
knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession
[754] can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer
picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it up-
side down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters
the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries
the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still
wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a
straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches
in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The
filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/102 cont./
764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[609] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at
the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch
on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave
[372] pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.
[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female
members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both
men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making
complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others
kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes.
After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few
grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters
water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get
rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal
of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then
must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought
along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten
again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it
may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont./

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
756 to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
[782] are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
[787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
[782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
[177] ask the host family for personalthings left, such as the deceased's
[604] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
[768] a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
received depends upon the financial condition of the host
family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
[565] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees "heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below, start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family members may begin to cry and weep.

/103 cont./

761 On the day of the funeral procession, some seven, eight,
756 or ten, and sometimes as many as 20 or 30, sorcerer priests
are invited. Each holds his particular sorcerer's banner and
cymbals and drums, with a large entourage following. Therefore,
the funeral procession of a sorcerer in the Miao area is an
exciting affair well worth watching. It is said that when the
[775] deceased sorcerer priest ascends to heaven, on the way he has
to pass through five garrisons and four outposts. Along the way
the other sorcerer priests are expected to act as the vanguard,
hence the more sorcerer priests present the stronger the force.
Each sorcerer priest has to go to the grave before he can withdraw
his "soldiers" and lower his banner to return home.

765 As for Miao mourning garments, when a father dies, a
[292] white headband is worn, with two streamers trailing behind
before the burial has yet taken place. If both parents are dead,
then the two streamers reach to the ground, otherwise only
one ribbon does. Within a period of four months the mourner
should not lift a hoe or a machete for at least one month; he
[302] does not shave his head, he does not sing, he wears mourning
clothes for three years. In the case of a mother's death, the
white cloth headband with which the head is wrapped is not
washed for four months, during which period the mourner does
[302] not shave his head nor drink cold water, and the mourning
clothes are worn for four years. There are persons who wear
mourning for their deceased parents all their lives up to 50 or
60 years. Mourning clothes for paternal grandparents are worn
for 12 days, and for a maternal uncle or his wife 12 days also.
For a deceased son the mother wears a red streamer on her
headband for three days.

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CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION — MIAO OFFICIALS

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(1) The Establishment of Miao Official Posts

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The development of the Miao area began during the time of the juncture of the Yuan dynasty and the Ming. The geographical section of the Ming Shih /History of the Ming Dynasty/ states: "A ch'ang kuan szu /a native leader set up by the Chinese government to head the district/ was established at Wu-chai during the Yuan dynasty, and in the sixth month of the seventh year of Hung Wu /1374, during the first reign period of the Ming dynasty/ the office was continued. A ch'ang kuan szu was set up at Kan-tzu-p'ing in the sixth month of the year chia ch'en of the first Ming emperor /1359/, at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief at Kan-tzu-p'ing. Later it was abolished. In the seventh month of the third year of the Yüng Lo /1405/, it was reestablished." Furthermore, the entry for Headman Hu Kuang in the "T'u szu Lieh Chuan" /Biographies of Headmen/ states: "In the third year of Yung Lo, Kung Neng and others at the Ch'en-chou military station summoned Liao Piao and others of the uncivilized Miao /i.e. those not under Chinese control/ from 35 villages of Kan-tzu-p'ing to send sons to pay tribute, and for this reason a ch'ang kuan szu was set up for Kan-tzu-p'ing, with Piao to be the official, under the jurisdiction of Pao-ching." The city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Wu-chai was the present chief city of Feng-huang hsien, but that of Kan-tzu-p'ing was also within Feng-huang, situated 70 li northeast of the chief town of the hsien. In Vol. 3 of the revised edition of Feng-huang T'ing Chih, published in the fourth year of Tao Kuang /1824/, it says: "The old city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Kan-tzu-p'ing was situated 70 li northeast of the T'ing. In the first year of the first Ming emperor /1368/, a yüan-shuai-fu /commander-in-chief's post/ was set up. In the third year of Yung Lo /i.e.

/104 cont./

e 1405/ it was changed to ch'ang kuan szu, with two city seats,
175 one on the mountain top and another at the foot of the moun-
631 tain. Today they have been abolished. The old city of the
563 Wu-chai ch'ang kuan szu is the present seat of the T'ing /i.e.
M Feng-huang sub-prefecture/ administration, but it has been
*175 greatly expanded. During the Ming period all was under the
631 jurisdiction of the Pacification Commissioner at Pao-ching."

*648 Kan Ch'eng was opened somewhat later, when at the end
of the Hung Wu reign period /1368-98/ a ch'ien hu suo /a
e ch'ien hu was an official at a military station, in charge of
[701] 1,000 soldiers; suo = office or bureau/ was established. The "Shu Wang P'ien" /historical section/ of the Miao Fang Pei Lan states: "In the second month of the thirtieth year of Hung Wu /1397/ there was set up at Chen-ch'i a military and civilian ch'ien hu bureau. Sun Ying-lung, who was then keeper of the records at Lu-ch'i, proclaimed that the tribal people of the upper five tu /hsien subdivisions/ should be divided into ten li /neighborhoods/, to be under the jurisdiction of Ch'en-chou. Ying-lung was promoted by imperial mandate to be in charge of the pacification. He selected the head ch'ien hu in charge of the ch'ien hu bureau at Chien-ch'ang, Kiangsi, to go to the capital to be given a bronze seal and given the hereditary office of ch'ien hu of Chen-ch'i. When the emperor went to the pavilion to send him on his way, he proclaimed: 'I have a single pellet of Miao territory, and I ask you to go ahead to open up headquarters for bringing the barbarians under our administration. Do what is good for them, and your descendants will enjoy the use /of the office/ without limit.' Moreover, he ordered the Board of War to select Ch'en Ya of Wu-sa military station in Kweichow and Sung Kuei of Lu-chou military station in Szechwan to be assistant ch'ien hu to go with him to assist him. He ordered the Board of Civil Office to select a head constable, and the provincial treasurer to allot for district police officers, who were granted, wrapped up an ivory tablet, paper money, and a silver belt, and entertained ceremoniously, and sent on their way. In the fifth

C /104 cont./
175 month Tuan Wen reached Chen-ch'i, established the Military
631 Station Office, and inaugurated the system, dividing 124 native
563 villages into ten li, making Yang Erh, the main leader, a
pe fu ch'ang /head of hundred men// The other 132 villages
M /105/ became a local army 'to protect the city moats.' When
*175 there were uprisings then they would be called to service; when
.631 conditions were peaceful then they would disperse as civilians.
*648 Hence the name, Military and Civilian Office" Chen-ch'i then
C is modern Suo-li, which is 20 li northeast of Kan-ch'eng hsien's
[701] main city.

Yung-sui was formerly under the jurisdiction of the native headman of Pao-ching, and Liu-li in it was also under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou. In the seventh year of Yung Cheng /1729/, the provincial governor Chao Hung-en and Wang Jou of Ch'en-yüan-ching tao pacified the uncivilized Miao at Liu-li and established a city at Chi-to-p'ing, called Yung-sui. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 1.

C [701] Ku-chang /hsien/ in the Ming period was the territory under the control of the three senior officials at Shin-tung-ch'i, Pe-ya-tung, and T'ien-chia-tung, under the jurisdiction of the military and civilian pacification commissioner's office at Yung-sui.

Pao-ching was formerly the territory under the control of the Pao-ching pacification commissioner.

M [634] After the five hsien in the Miao frontier region were opened, from the Yuan and Ming dynasties to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, they were under the control of native headmen. During the K'ang Hsi reign period of the early Ch'ing /1662-1722/, a gradual change was begun from native headmen to regular government officials. In the forty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi /1707/, the senior official /ch'ang kuan szu/ at Wu-chai, T'ien Hung-t'ien, being harsh and cruel, the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, sent up a memorial

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175 to the Emperor requesting that he be dismissed from office and
631 that no hereditary substitute be allowed. (2) In the forty-eighth
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2. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

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year /1709/, because the Miao at Liu-li of the Chen-ch'i
*648 Office did not wish to be under the control of the native headman at Pao-ching, they repeatedly requested the change from native headman to government official, and the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, again sent up a memorial requesting transference of control to the government. (3) In the fourth

3. Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 15.

year of Yung Cheng /1726/, the headman at Pao-ching, P'eng Yü-pin, was removed from office for being avaricious and cruel, and in the fifth year the change was made from native headman to government official. Yü-pin was peacefully settled at Liao-yang. (4) In the fifth year of Yung Cheng, the headman

4. Pao-ching Hsien Chih, Vol. 5.

at Yung-shun, P'eng Chao-huai, personally applied for the change from native headman to government official. He returned to his native place in Chi-shui, Kiangsi. (5) San-t'u-

5. Yung-shun Hsien Chih, Vol. 15.

chou /"three local chou"/ and Wu-ch'ang-kuan-szu /"five senior officials"/ under the jurisdiction of the headman of Yung-shun were also changed from native to government officials.

/105 cont./

C After the voluntary change from the native headmen in
175 the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set
631 up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai
563 ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the
M Miao and bring them under the administration of government
*175 officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always
631 Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions.
*648 As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous
rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the
622 unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth
C year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put
[669] down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that
the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The
then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

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[113] 6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

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/106 cont./

C were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military
175 authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only
631 village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since
563 Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there
M were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment
*175 caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao
who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock
631 feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be
*648 selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at
[622] each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-
C pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal
[703] /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-
general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and
[701] to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities.
[203] When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official
despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers
to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them
C some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official
[357] business require servants, they may also recruit them from the
Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales.
C It would appear that the 100-families village chief was
175 originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men
631 were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao
563 did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding
M such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues,
*175 whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally
be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility.
631 During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who ac-
*648 companied the army and won peacock feather awards are
622 numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent
and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and accord-
ing to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing
aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one
or two men to be native second captains, under whom there
should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

C /106 cont./
175 the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of
631 villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the
563 governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the
M control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies
*175 and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked
to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-
631 general and governor and military officials should examine the
*648 merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them
[622] accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommenda-
[625] tions memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the
t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been
C abolished, official communications should be despatched ac-
[203] cording to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions
where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials
/t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given
the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned,
to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according
to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on
C official business need servants, then order the said Miao to
[357] serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations
memorialized." (1)

1. See "I Wen Chih"
in Miao Fang Pei Lan,
Vol. 19.

M According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials,
[622] although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei
and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao
soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian
affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un
land within the Miao area were placed under the control of
Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng
/The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un
M Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were
[429] pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

/107 cont./
C the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial
175 army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by
631 them. Also it would seem that if there was property of re-
563 fractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed
M among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that
*175 a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped
631 land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100
*648 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel
425 Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being
C separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the
M revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000
[701] Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers dis-
C charged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a
[651] plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages,
and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields
to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been
selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture;
800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui
sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture;
C and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given
651 over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the
175 various villages spots for building granaries to store away the
631 public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen
563 for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the
M grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be
*175 capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain.
631 It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries
*648 about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the
622 need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month.
The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts
of rent grain every year." (1)

M
[113]

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan
Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao
/Study of the Administration
of the Defense T'un of the
Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

/107 cont./

~~100~~

Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

C

175 Thus a Miao official was a military official having con-
631 current judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was
563 equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference
701 was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of
M appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the
twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi
*175 Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commission-
631 ing of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486
*648 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-
622 p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-
701 wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to
Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troups /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./

175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
*563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
631

*648
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701

(2) The Organization of Miao Officials

With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96 villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

M [162]

M [162]

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M [162] Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle, left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./
C *shou-pei*, two *ch'ien-tsung*, three *pa-tsung*, and six *wai-wei*
175 were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising
631 981 men and women. The left *ying*'s one Miao *shou-pei*,
563 two *ch'ien-tsung*, four *pa-tsung*, and eight *wai-wei* were in
701 charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men
M and women. The right *ying*'s one Miao *shou-pei*, one *ch'ien-*
*175 *tsung*, four *pa-tsung*, and five *wai-wei* were in charge of 18
villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women.
631 The front *ying*'s one Miao *shou-pei*, one *ch'ien-tsung*, two
*648 *pa-tsung*, /109/ and six *wai-wei* administered eleven villages,
622 consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The
above four Miao *shou-pei*, six *ch'ien-tsung*, 13 *pa-tsung*, and
701 25 *wai-wei*, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130
162 villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. Moreover, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various families. (1)

1. *Kan-chou T'ing Chih*,
Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as *li*, not *ying*. The whole region was divided into 12 *li*, each *li* having one *shou-pei*. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao *shou-pei*, one *ch'ien-tsung*, two *pa-tsung*, three *wai-wei*, 15 fighting soldiers /*chan ping*/, and 85 guard soldiers /*shou ping*/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao *shou-pei*, one *ch'ien-tsung*, two *pa-tsung*, six *wai-wei*, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao *shou-pei*, three *ch'ien-tsung*, four *pa-tsung*, nine *wai-wei*, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao *shou-pei*, two *ch'ien-tsung*, seven *pa-tsung*, nine *wai-wei*, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao *shou-pei*,

/109 cont./

C three *ch'ien-tsung*, six *pa-tsung*, eight *wai-wei*, 61 fighting
175 soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726
631 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li
563 had one Miao *shou-pei*, three *ch'ien-tsung*, six *pa-tsung*, 12
701 *wai-wei*, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men,
M governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The
*175 Upper Eighth Li had one Miao *shou-pei*, one *ch'ien-tsung*, no
pa-tsung, four *wai-wei*, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard
631 soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women.
*648 The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao *shou-pei*, two *ch'ien-tsung*,
622 five *pa-tsung*, seven *wai-wei*, 48 fighting men, and a guard
force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and
701 women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao *shou-pei*,
162 three *ch'ien-tsung*, eight *pa-tsung*, 14 *wai-wei*, 32 fighting
men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families
with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao
shou-pei, three *ch'ien-tsung*, six *pa-tsung*, 14 *wai-wei*, 32
fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480
families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li
had one Miao *shou-pei*, three *ch'ien-tsung*, eight *pa-tsung*,
21 *wai-wei*, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men,
governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The
Lower Tenth Li had one Miao *shou-pei*, three *ch'ien-tsung*,
five *pa-tsung*, ten *wai-wei*, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard
force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and
women. The above 12 Miao *shou-pei*, 28 *ch'ien-tsung*, 57
pa-tsung, and 115 *wai-wei* were set up in the second year of
Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished.
These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the
scattered Miao in the various *li*. The guard force of 1,800 men
was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained
from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded *t'u t'ang* /?/. The
384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from
among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. *Yung-sui T'ing Chih*,
Vols. 6 and 15.

/110 cont./

C The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth *tu* /subdivision
175 of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao *shou-pei*, nine
631 *ch'ien-tsung*, 12 *pa-tsung*, 31 *wai-wei*, and 300 Miao soldiers.
563 (2)
701

M 2. *Pao-ching Hsien Chih,*
*175 Vol. 5.

631 The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included
*648 one *shou-pei*, two *ch'ien-tsung*, four *pa-tsung*, 12 *wai-wei*,
622 and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)
701

[162] 3. *Ku-chang-p'ing*
T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four *yings* — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven *yings* due to the presence of eleven *shou-pei*. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called *tu* are now called *ch'ü*, but the structure remains the same.

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign
C period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from
631 entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded
563 seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao *shou-pei*, *ch'ien-tsung*,
701 *pa-tsung*, and *wai-wei* were set up with the responsibility of
[669] controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved
in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were
M charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders.
701 For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely
631 on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and
*648 grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover,
622 the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits
as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[text continues on p165]

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The following table shows the results of our investigations: /111/

/Upper left quarter/

Hsien	Ying	Name of Native Head	Guard Station
Feng-huang	Upper Middle Ying	Lung Fu-shou	Mao-tu-t'ang
	Lower Middle Ying	Wu Tsung-ch'ing	Hsin-tung-p'ing
	Upper Left Ying	Wu Fang-ming	Pao-mu-ying
	Lower Left Ying	Wu Hsiu-ch'ing	San-kung-ch'iao
	Right Ying	Lung En-te	Ya-pao-chai
	Upper Right Ying	Lung Feng-wu	Lung-chüeh-tung
	Right Ying	Wu Shao-hai	Chuang-chi-chai
	Lower Right Ying	Lung Tsung-chieh	Ta-t'ien
	Upper Front Ying	Shih Chao-pin	Hsin-chai
	Middle Front Ying	Wu Ch'ing-te	T'ien-p'ing
	Lower Front Ying	Wu Cheng-ying	Ku-sang-ying
Total		11	
Kan-ch'eng	Middle Ying	Wu Chia-chu	San-ch'a-p'ing
	Left Ying	Yang Sheng-pao	Ch'ü-chia-chai
	Right Ying	Shih Yung-chi	Hsi-ch'üeh-chai
	Front Ying	Yang Tsai-chen	Meng /?/ Ch'e
Total		4	

2:Ling & Ruey--161 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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/111 cont./

/Lower left quarter/

Ku-chang	Lung-pi-tsui Ying /Dragon Snout Ying/	Lung Ch'ing-nung	Nung-pi-tsui
Total		1	
Pao-ching	Fourth Ch'ü Sixth Ch'ü Seventh Ch'ü Eighth Ch'ü	Wu Chung-ch'ing Hung Yung-liang Shih Ch'ing-sung Liang Kuang-yung	Pe-ho-t'ien Hu-lu-chai Pi-tzu-chai Shui-t'ien
Total		4	
/112/ Yung-sui	Upper Fifth Li Lower Fifth Li Upper Sixth Li Lower Sixth Li Upper Seventh Li Lower Seventh Li Upper Eighth Li Lower Eighth Li Upper Ninth Li Lower Ninth Li Upper Tenth Li Lower Tenth	Lung Sheng-hsin Shih Wei-hsin Shih Ming-yüan Shih Tsung-huang Lung Ch'ang-yao Wu Ting-k'uei Wu Ch'eng-chang Lung Kuo-han Ma Ch'ang-shun Shih Tuan-ch'u Shih Chin-yüan Wang Kuo-ch'ang	Tung-k'a-chai Ch'ien-ch'ang-chai Pan-li-chai Chia-ming-chai Chien-yen-chai La-wu-chai Ta-pai-wu Ya-pao-chai Pai-ta-k'ou Wei-ch'eng-chai Pai-pu-mei Pai-liao-chai
Total		12	
Grand Total		32	

/112 cont./

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/Upper right quarter/

Number of Petty Officers and Soldiers					Total Numbers		
Ch'en-tsung	Pa-tsung	Wai-wei	Fighting Soldiers	Guard Soldiers	Petty Officers	Soldiers	Total Ying Complement
2	4	8	30	150	14	180	194
2	3	9	30	140	14	170	184
2	4	6	30	190	12	220	232
1	3	8	80	200	12	280	292
2	5	9	55	152	16	207	223
2	2	6	54	114	10	168	178
2	4	6	43	136	12	179	191
1	2	4	58	91	7	149	156
2	5	10	17	182	17	199	216
1	3	5	2	65	9	67	76
3	5	9	1	180	17	181	198
20	40	80	400	1,600	140	2,000	2,140
2	2	6	48	157	10	205	215
2	7	10	40	191	19	231	250
2	4	3	40	154	9	194	203
		6	32	138	6	170	176
6	13	25	160	640	44	800	844

2:Ling & Ruey--164 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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/112 cont./

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/Lower right quarter/

2	4	12		100	18	100	118
2	4	12		100	18	100	118
1	1	2	8	42	4	50	54
3	5	9	19	61	17	80	97
3	4	15	21	79	22	100	122
2	2	5	12	58	9	70	79
9	12	31	60	240	52	300	352
1	3	3	14	81	7	95	102
1	3	6	14	81	9	95	104
3	4	9	28	162	16	190	206
2	7	9	54	121	18	175	193
3	4	8	56	168	15	224	239
3	6	12	66	176	21	242	263
1		4	9	68	5	77	82
2	4	7	38	91	13	129	142
3	8	12	36	142	23	178	201
3	6	14	30	142	23	172	195
3	8	21	17	139	32	156	188
3	5	10	18	49	18	67	85
28	57	115	380	1,420	200	1,800	2,000
65	126	263	1,000	4,000	454	5,000	5,454

/112 cont./

C The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been
631 in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original
563 separation of the execution and administrative functions between
701 the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao
could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time.
M But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have
631 gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference
622 between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they
*648 have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration
for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded.
701 Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be
[177] abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still
able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been
profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other
hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying
bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the
Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials
more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the
various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system
of *hsiang* /villages/ and *chen* /towns/, each governed by a
head, known as *hsiang chang* or *chen chang*, respectively. In
view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous.
It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do
away with them soon.

C

/113/ CHAPTER SEVEN

175

T'UN FIELDS

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M

(1) Successive Changes in *T'un* Defense

*175 Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming
*648 dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of
C [712] blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

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175 /113 cont./
563 did not witness serious trouble. The method of this blockade
669 consisted of setting up stone guard posts /tiao-pao/, establishing
712 guard stations /ying shao/, and building border walls, strictly
M demarcating the boundary between the Chinese and Miao areas,
without allowing any infringement by one on the other. The
*175 section on government in the historical section of Miao Fang
*648 Pei Lan, recording the system of defense against the Miao
during the Ming dynasty, has this to say: "During the fifth year
of Hsüan Te /i.e. 1430/, the senior official /chang kuan/ at
Kan-tzu-p'ing, Wu Pi-lang, and the Miao of Tung-jen,
Kweichow, started a rebellion. The brigadier general /tsung
ping kuan/, Hsiao Shou, built 24 guard posts /pao/ around the
area to protect it. In the thirty-first year of Chia Ching /i.e.
1552/, the Miao in Hupeh-Hunan and Kweichow were pacified.
C The Court sent Governor General Chang Yo to hold down Yüan-
175 chou. Yo in consultation with Assistant Commissioner /fu shih/
563 Kao Hsien, and Lieutenant Colonel /ts'an chiang/ Sun Hsien
712 drew up a plan to abolish the guard posts at Wan-chi. Then
he built 12 outposts /shao/ called: Wu-chai, Yung-an, Ch'ing-
ch'i, Ho-k'ou, Kan-tzu, Kan-chou, Ch'iang-hu, Shih-yang,
Shao-p'o, Tung-hsin, Shui-t'ang-yao, Shui-t'ien-ying, which
with that at Chen-ch'i-so came to 13 in all. Every guard station
had a wall, a tower, a drill yard, a narrow gate, an office,
C and a community storehouse /she ts'ang/. The officer corps
175 included a tu-pei /"head of senior soldiers"/, ling-pan /"sec-
563 tion leader"/, ling-tui /"company leader"/, ling-cheng
/"recruitment and arms officer?"/, kuan-piao /"keeper of
701 banners"/, kuan-ts'ang /"keeper of the storehouse"/, and li-mu
/"head constable and keeper of the jail"/. The local official
had under him t'ou-mu /"headmen"/, she-jen /"official
secretaries"/, shih-tzu /"readers"/, chien-pu /"strong walkers"/,
M ta-shou /?lit., "move the hands"/ hsiang-t'u /?lit., geogra-
[701] phers"/, po-k'ai /heralds/, and the Ch'i Miao soldiers. In all
the officers and men totaled 6,000 or more, commanded by a
lieutenant colonel /ts'an-chiang piao ying/, with a second

/113 cont./
C captain /shou-pei/ assisting him. Moreover, at the two military
175 stations /wei/ of Ch'en and Yüan, the frontier guard officers
563 and men, amounted to 6,600 or more, and the annual disbursement
701 to the Yüan-chou treasury for paying the troops was more
M than 30,089 /sic/ liang of silver, that to the Ma-yang, Ch'ien-yang,
[701] and Kan-chou military rations granaries and the autumn
government rations at Chen-ch'i-so were 31,890 or more. At
this time, the lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang Tu-ling/ directed
matters at the top, the majors /yu-chi/ and second captains
/shou-pei/ attended to things at the middle level, and the
guard stations /ying-shao/ carried out defense duties at the
lower level. Furthermore, fearing the difficulty of communications
in times of trouble, it was arranged for the sake of convenience
as follows: 'For operations involving under 3,000
men, decisions may be made on the spot, but for operations
involving more than 3,000 men, the decision must be made
after consultation with the military defense officials. As the
number of soldiers increased and generals became more strong,
the border regions became more quiet and peaceful. In the
C forty-third year Wan Li /i.e. 1615/, the Military Defense Ts'an
175 Cheng, Ts'ai Fu-i, because the guard stations being spread out
563 and the Miao roads rugged, it was difficult to prevent spying,
712 applied for an appropriation of 40,000 or more gold for the
construction of a frontier earth wall, starting from T'ung-jen
M and going down to Pao-ching guard station, along mountains
*148 and extending in all more than 300 li, so that frontier defense
*175 could be made somewhat more /114/ secure. In the second
C
[631] year of T'ien Ch'i /i.e. 1622/, a provincial governor was set
up at T'ien-yüan.... The then pei tao fu shih /assistant commissioner
of defense?/ Hu I-hung at Ch'en Yüan despatched
Major Teng Tsu-yü from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying to
build an additional 60 more li of frontier wall." (1)

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1. Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 15.

2:Ling & Ruey--168 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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/114 cont./

C During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of
175 the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard
563 stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to
669 blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops
[901] /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced
[712] to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When
M the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peace-
*175 ful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving
*648 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system
M was relaxed. Further, following the change from native head-
C men to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head
[631] of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese
M and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth
[177] year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having
undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Feng-
175 huang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, con-
563 trolling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left,
701 with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains
M /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants
701 /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries
/e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

/114 cont./

C Sui-ching-chen /Sui-ching Brigade/ was established at
175 Hua-yüan, Yung-sui (today under Yung-sui hsien), where were
563 stationed one brigade general, one major, one captain, two
701 second captains, three lieutenants, six sergeants, nine corporals,
M five supernumeraries, and a total of 1,440 soldiers, taking part
701 in the defense of nine guard stations. At Yung-sui there was
also set up the Yung-sui Hsieh with one assistant brigade general
/fu-chiang/, one captain, two second captains, three lieutenants,
seven sergeants, eight corporals, eight supernumeraries, and
1,240 soldiers. They controlled seven outposts, under the
direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

Xan-chow Hsieh was established in Kan-ch'eng with an assistant brigade general, one major, one captain, three second captains, two lieutenants, ten sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 1,400 soldiers, who defended 15 outposts under the direction of the provincial commander in chief /ti-tu/.

/115/ In Pao-ching there was set up one ying with one lieutenant colonel//tsan-chiang/, two second captains, two lieutenants, five sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 952 soldiers, defending 19 guard stations, subject to the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

The Ku-chang-p'ing ying was established at Ku-chang, with a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, three supernumeraries, and in all 740 soldiers, stationed at the ying headquarters but defending the various military posts.

C At that time in addition to stationing heavy complements
175 of soldiers in the Miao area, there were also put up a total of
563 1,121 stone guard houses /tiao ch'ia/ along the ruins of the
701 wall left from the Ming dynasty. In addition to the stationing
712 of government troops at important positions, there were more
M than 800 of these guard houses where 9,000 soldiers were left
to protect the border. Later when the nation became short of
*175 money, it was not possible to maintain large forces in this
*648 deep interior area for defense. Thus, suddenly, the frontier
guards were withdrawn, then the stone guard houses became
empty, and there was fear that the fierce
Miao would start a rebellion.

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/115 cont./

000 empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a
C rebellion. At this time Fu Nai of Yüan-ch'en tao met with
175 Brigade General Fu Chih-na of Chen-kan Chen and summoned
563 together people of the sub-prefecture to discuss a long-range
701 plan. And so they began the t'un system of defense. Fields
651 were allotted to feed the fighters and to defend the guard houses
425 against the Miao. As for the people's /i.e. Chinese/ land,
except for fields for sustenance, a male could retain three tou
of grain, a woman one tou. As for the rest of the land seven
were allotted while three were retained, for one shih of grain
three tou was personally retained, and seven tou given up for
C allotment, to feed the fighters and guard the frontier. In the
[712] Feng-huang area there were more than 830 stone guard houses,
requiring 4,000 men to man them in rotation. Further, 1,000
men were trained to be combat ready. The more than 22,000
mu of land allotted were not enough to meet the expense, and
so another allotment of more than 12,300 mu at Lu-ch'i and
C Mo-yang was made. There were also 127 stone petty military
[712] stations /tiao pao/ at Kan-chou, manned by 800 soldiers,
supported by more than 2,170 mu of allotted land. The
original sect of government of Yung-sui, before the Miao
rebellion during the reign period of Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing,
was at Wei-ch'eng, which was entirely surrounded by the Miao.
In the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/, the seat of govern-
C ment was moved to Hua-yüan with a newly built yamen.
[712] There were 126 stone guard houses with 2,000 soldiers. The
people's land, i.e. Chinese land, usurped by rebels and re-
covered for public use, totaled more than 17,110 mu. There
were over 70 stone military stations /tiao pao/, at Pao-ching,
with 300 soldiers and over 2,170 mu of allotted land. There
were only 18 stone guard houses at Ku-chang-p'ing with a
hundred soldiers and over 120 mu of allotted land.

M The above refers to Chinese t'un /min t'un/. In addition,
*[175] there were also Miao t'un. After the suppression of the Miao
*[648] rebellion, the Miao tribes, awed by military might, surrendered
[651] all the Chinese land formerly forcefully usurped by them, and
[727]
[425]

C /115 cont./
175 also searched into the properties of the rebel Miao and decided
523 to return them for public use. The forcefully usurped land
651 totaling over 30,100 mu and the rebels' properties totaling
425 over 5,400 mu were redistributed among the law-abiding Miao
[701] to farm. Granaries were built to collect rent /tsu/ for the maintenance of Miao soldiers. The pressing for rent, the in-
M specting of fields, the distribution and transportation of grain,
*175 and other duties were all the responsibility of Miao officials.

*648 /116/ The total amount of Chinese land and Miao land
651 given up for allotment in the seven sub-prefectures and hsiens
425 of the Miao area was as follows: (1)
[727]

1. Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng K'ao, Chapter 7, "Chün T'un San," "Chün T'un T'ien Tu Ts'ung Shu" /"The Total Amount of Allotted T'un Land," in "Allotted T'un, 3Y," numbers set after the subduing of the Miao in 1797.

1. Feng-huang Sub-prefecture
   - (1) Allotted fields 22,080.6 mu (allotted in the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing /1800/).
   - (2) Fields returned to public use 3,539 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao but surrendered when called on and returned for public use).
   - (3) Fields redeemed by the government 5,587.3 mu. (Chinese fields granted to the Miao at a low pledge but redeemed by the government for public use).
   - (4) Fields usurped by the rebels surrendered by the Miao 7,650.8 mu (Miao rebels' property, wrongfully farmed by them, surrendered to the government for public use).
   - (5) Usurped rebel land returned by the Miao 5,983.7 mu (same as above).

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/116 cont./

(6) Private fields presented by Miao 1,595.7 mu (private property contributed by Miao after receiving an official post).

(7) Reclaimed fields 145.8 mu (barren land without crops reclaimed by soldiers).

2. Kan-chou Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 3,628.8 mu.

(2) Land redeemed by the government 776.5 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 3,487 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 196.1 mu.

(5) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 578.5 mu (now become public fields).

(6) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 48.8 mu (same as above).

(7) Private fields surrendered by Miao on request 604.6 mu.

3. Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 529.7 mu.

/117/ (2) Fields redeemed by the government 93.4 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 127.8 mu.

(4) Private fields given up by other Miao 227 mu.

4. Pao-ching Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 2,178.6 mu.

(2) Fields redeemed by the government 628.6 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 1,476 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 303.6 mu.

(5) Private fields presented by Miao petty officers 300.2 mu.

(6) Disputed usurped fields given over by the Miao 296.9 mu.

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/117 cont./

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5. Yung-sui Sub-prefecture
   - (1) Fields returned to public use 16,114.3 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao taken back by the government for public use).
   - (2) Redeemed fields 8,468.7 mu.
   - (3) Rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 5,940.7 mu.
   - (4) Rebel land surrendered by the Miao 9,895.7 mu.
   - (5) Private fields contributed by Miao petty officers 500.4 mu.
   - (6) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 287 mu.
   - (7) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 345.6 mu.
   - (8) Reclaimed fields 2,545.5 mu.
   - (9) Reclaimed land 10,130 mu.

6. Lu-ch'i Hsien
   - (1) Allotted fields 5,382.5 mu.

7. Mo-yang Hsien
   - (1) Allotted fields 6,983.1 mu.

/118/ The total of the above fields and land is 131,640.6 mu. In the thirteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1808/ a total of 15,219.3 mu of fields and land was surveyed in the three hsien, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, and Yung-sui. In the sixteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1811/ another total of 5,873.2 mu of fields and land was surveyed, totaling 152,157.1 mu of fields and land. Of this besides the land allocated to the army for horses and farming, land lost through floods and erosion, and also the land used for stone guard houses and surroundings, totaling 11,084.3 mu, and another 37,849 mu distributed among the t'un able-bodied males, leaders, the aged, and the young, there remained 103,223.8 mu. Farmers were recruited to farm this land and rent /in kind/ collected. The annual receipt in grain totaled 105,488 shih, three tou, and nine sheng.

The Miao frontier region is mountainous and lacking in fields. For the most part they develop mountain slopes, building up terraced fields for the cultivation of rice grown in

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/118 cont./
C flooded fields. Whenever the terraced fields are damaged by
175 flood and erosion when mountain streams flood, the damage is
563 often beyond repair, resulting in a decrease of rent year by
651 year. Furthermore, the government has several times decreed
M a reduction of rent, so that the current rent rate is only one-
*175 half of the original. Successive rent reductions undergone were
*648 as follows: in the nineteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1814/ a
651 reduction of 5,500 shih was made; in the first year of Tao Kuang
/1821/ a reduction of 20,770 shih was made; in the eighteenth
year of Tao Kuang /1838/ after an investigation of fields
destroyed by flood, a reduction of 282 shih, 7 tou, 7 sheng,
6 shuo was effected; in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang
/1848/ a reduction of 649 shih, 1 tou, 8 sheng, 1 ho. After
the above reductions there remained a rent of 78,286 shih,
4 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 6 shuo. In the twenty-ninth year of
Tao Kuang /1849/ there was a further reduction amounting to
7,828 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 4 shuo, resulting in the
collection of 70,457 shih, 8 tou, 1 shuo of rent. It was ruled
that no further reductions would be made. It was also ordered
that for every 6 ho /of grain/ there would be collected 1 sheng,
but below six ho nothing would be collected, thereby causing
a loss of 352 shih, 3 tou, 1 sheng, 1 shuo. Since that year the
annual rent has totaled 70,105 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng. From the
twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ to the end of the
Ch'ing dynasty, after deducting 179 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng of
rent uncollectible due to flood and erosion, the net receipt
of rent totaled 69,926 shih. From the first year of the Republic
/1912/ to the sixteenth or seventeenth year, the reductions
due to floods totaled 2,917 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng, 2 ho. In the
twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/, according to
investigations made by the authors in western Hunan, the net
rent was 67,008 shih, 5 tou, 8 ho. According to a statement
C in the Hsiang Hsi Miao Ch'ü T'un Fang Chün T'un T'ien T'u
[113] Yen Ke /Successive Changes in Land Allotted to Defensive T'un
in the Miao Area West of the Hsiang River/, recently published
by Yü Fan-ch'uen;

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C
175 /118 cont./
651 by Yü Fan-ch'uan: "The decision of the first conference on
563 *t'un* matters held in the twenty-fifth year of the Republic /1936/
M was to reduce the rental on devastated land 1,592 shih, 3 tou,
*175 8 sheng, 8 ho. Currently, the actual receipt of rent is 65,416
*648 shih, 1 tou, 2 sheng." (1)
651

1. *Pien Chiang* /Frontier/,
Vol. 2, no. 2.

(2) The Organization of *T'un* Defense

C
175 1. The organization of the *t'un* defense /system/ during
[701] the early Ch'ing dynasty.
M (1) Feng-huang Sub-prefecture. *T'un* second captains
[701] 3, *t'un* lieutenants 4, *t'un* sergeants 4, *t'un* corporals 10,
supernumeraries 9, Miao second captains 11, Miao lieutenants
20, Miao sergeants 40, Miao corporals 80, general *t'un* leaders
/*tsung t'un chang*/ 15, special *t'un* leaders /*san t'un chang*/
60, home guard /*lien yung*/ 1,000, old and young males 1,000,
able-bodied *t'un* males /*t'un ting*/ 4,000, Miao soldiers 1,000,
C *t'un* camps 27, Miao camps 25, stone houses 544, *t'un* guard
[712] houses 105, guard stations 51, patrol stations 98, canon emplacements 7, gates 24, gate houses 5. The above stone houses,
guard houses, guard stations, patrol stations, gun emplacements,
C gates, and gate houses totaled 834 units. There were 63 *t'un*
[651] and Miao granaries, and the fixed rent was 25,461 shih, 3 tou,
C 9 sheng, 6 ho, 8 shuo. Shotguns numbered 7,022, swords 300,
[713] spears 100, and hand guns /*shou p'ao*/ 40. The above guns,
swords, and spears amounted to 16,229 weapons.
C (2) Kan-chou Sub-prefecture. *T'un* second captain 1,
[701] *t'un* sergeant 1, *t'un* corporals 2, *t'un* supernumeraries 2, Miao
M second captains 4. Miao lieutenants 6, Miao sergeants 13,
[701] Miao corporals 13, Miao corporals 25, general *t'un* leaders 4,
special *t'un* leaders 21, able-bodied *t'un* males 600, Miao
C soldiers 800, *t'un* camps 8, Miao camps 10, stone houses 75,
[712]

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C /119 cont./
175 *t'un* guard houses 13, guard stations 28, gun emplacements 4,
[712] gates 5, gate houses 2. The above stone houses, guard houses,
guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and
C gate houses totaled 128 units. There were 11 *t'un* and Miao
[651] granaries, and the set rent was 7,725 shih, 1 tou, 3 sheng,
[713] 2 ho, 9 shuo. Shotguns were 3,244, hand guns 10, swords 100,
spears 395. The above weapons totaled 5,841 weapons.

C (3) Yung-sui Sub-prefecture. *T'un* second captains 2,
[701] *t'un* lieutenants 2, *t'un* sergeants 3, *t'un* corporals /120/ 3,
M *t'un* supernumeraries 3, Miao second captains 12, Miao
[701] lieutenants 28, Miao sergeants 57, Miao corporals 115, general
t'un leaders 12, special *t'un* leaders 33, *t'un* males 2,000; old
C and young males 800, Miao soldiers 1,800, *t'un* camps 13,
[712] Miao camps 19, stone houses 67, *t'un* guard houses 20, guard
stations 29, gates 8, gate houses 3. The above stone houses,
guard houses, guard stations, gates, and gate houses totaled
C 127. There were 21 *t'un* and Miao granaries, and the set rent
[651] was 29,756 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 8 ho, 8 shuo, 3 ch'ao.
[713] There were 4,915 shotguns, 190 swords, 3,295 spears, totaling
14,300 weapons.

C (4) Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture. *T'un* sergeant 1,
[701] *t'un* supernumerary 1, Miao second captain 1, Miao lieutenant
2, Miao sergeant 4, Miao corporal 12, general *t'un* leader 1,
M special *t'un* leaders 4, *t'un* males 100, Miao soldiers 100,
[701] Miao camps 4, stone houses 15, guard stations 4. The above
C stone houses, guard houses, and guard stations totaled 19.
[712] There were 3 *t'un* and Miao granaries, with asset rent of 523
shih, 7 tou, 1 sheng, 3 ho, 5 shuo, 3 ch'ao. There were 655
[651] shotguns, 369 swords, and 368 spears, totaling 1,828 weapons.

[713] (5) Pao-ching Hsien. *T'un* corporals 2, *t'un* supernumera-
[701] ries 2, Miao second captains 4, Miao lieutenants 9, Miao
M sergeants 12, Miao corporals 31, general *t'un* leaders 3, special
[701] *t'un* leaders 12, *t'un* males 300, Miao soldiers 300, *t'un* camps
2, Miao camps 12, stone houses 30, *t'un* guard houses 30,
C guard stations 25, gate 1, gate house 1. The stone houses,
[712]

C /120 cont./
175 guard houses, guard stations, gate, and gate houses totaled 70.
712 There were 9 *t'un* and Miao granaries, the set rent was 4,023
651 shih, 1 tou, 1 sheng, 4 ho, 2 shuo. There were 552 shotguns,
[713] 684 swords, and 844 spears, totaling 2,938 weapons.

(6) Mo-yang Hsien. General *t'un* leaders 2, special *t'un*
C leaders 10; *t'un* granaries 11, set rent 7,323 shih, 7 tou, 5
[701] sheng, 5 ho, 8 shuo, 5 ch'ao.

(7) Lu-ch'i Hsien. General *t'un* leaders 3, special *t'un* leaders 20, *t'un* granaries 13, set rent 4,414 shih, 6 ton, 1 sheng, 8 ho, 9 ch'ao.

C /121/ The above seven sub-prefectures and hsiens had a
175 total of 56 *t'un* officers, 486 Miao officers, 200 *t'un* leaders,
[701] 1,000 home guards, 7,000 *t'un* males, 1,800 old and young
M males, and 5,000 Miao soldiers. There were 120 *t'un* and
[701] Miao camps, 731 stone houses, 151 *t'un* guard houses, 137
C guard stations, 99 patrol posts, 11 gun emplacements, 38 gates,
[712] and 11 gate houses. The above stone houses, guard houses,
guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and gate
C houses totaled 1,178. There were altogether 131 *t'un* and
[651] Miao granaries; the set rent was 79,218 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng.
[713] There were in all 16,388 shotguns, 50 hand guns, 1,643 swords,
and 5,002 spears, totaling 41,136 weapons.

C 2. Regulations for the organization and administration
701 of the *T'un* Bureau from the headquarters of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division of the Army.

Article 1. The said Bureau is to be organized on the order of Divisional Commander Ch'en of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division.

Article 2. The said Bureau shall set up, according to the temporary organization regulations of the Division, a chief and a deputy chief, three department heads, a number of departmental staff, clerks, and copyists.

Article 3. The chief of the Bureau will receive orders
from the Commander of the Division, and will have general
superintendence over the *t'un* army west of the Hsiang River,
C [563] and Miao defense officials and soldiers, *t'un* grain supplies,

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/121 cont./
and the keeping in order of t'un properties, and coordinate everything, with the authority to direct and supervise all the Bureau's personnel.

701

Article 4. The said Bureau shall have three departments, Departments One, Two, and Three. Each department head shall receive his orders from the chief of the Bureau, to assist him by dividing control over military matters, t'un matters, and general matters, with the responsibility to direct and manage his particular department's responsibilities.

Article 5. Department One will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to the regulation of the t'un army, training, direction, and deployment.

(2) Matters pertaining to the military equipment of this army, inventory and replenishment.

[513]

(3) Deciding on all educational planning for the t'un army.

(4) Military plans for defense in the Miao area.

(5) Matters pertaining to active support and recruiting of supplies in the rear during wartime.

Article 6. Department Two will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to investigation and management of t'un grain in the seven hsiens, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, Yung-sui, Ku-chang-p'ing, Pao-ching, Lu-ch'i, and Mo-yang.

/122/ (2) Plans relating to the collection, disbursement, and transportation of t'un rent /grain/ in each hsien.

Article 7. Department Three will be responsible for:

(1) Matters pertaining to the investigation of the civilian and military personnel.

(2) Attending to the records of cases of opium suppression within the whole defense area of the Division.

(3) Attending to matters not belonging to the other two departments.

Article 8. The members of a department will receive orders from the chief of the Bureau, and, under the supervision of the chief of the department, will attend to the various matters of the department.

/122 cont./

Article 9. The secretary of the Bureau will receive his orders from the chief of the Bureau, and will attend to such matters as the writing of official despatches of the Bureau, the keeping of the archives, and directing the copying of documents.

Article 10. The clerks will receive orders from the chief of the Bureau, and, under the direction of the department head, will assist in carrying out the various duties of the department.

Article 11. The copyists will receive their orders from the chief of the Bureau and the departmental heads, and, under the direction of department members and the secretary, shall be responsible for copying despatches and telegrams.

Article 12. The system of documentary procedure of the Bureau is as follows:

Official on duty for the day — (makes extracts) receives and sends out (registers) — distributes to { Dept. 1 / Dept. 2 / Dept. 3 / Secretariat } —

makes main drafts — checks drafts — official on duty (distributes for copying) —

submits for signature — seals and sends out — files in the archives

/122 cont./

Article 13. Because of the real necessity of its business, 701 the Bureau shall maintain three officials on duty (a member of a department, a clerk, and a copyist), whose duties shall be as follows:

(1) To keep a record of the items of business transacted during the day.

(2) To keep an attendence record of the personnel as a basis for reward and punishment.

(3) To attend to emergencies by taking discretionary measures and to report such measures to their superiors.

Article 14. Request for leave of absence for personal reasons must be requested and approved, otherwise such absences shall be considered negligence of duty.

Article 15. These regulations may be amended when the need arises by sending in a request.

/123/ Article 16. These regulations become effective on the day when they are approved by the divisional commander and made public.

/123 cont./

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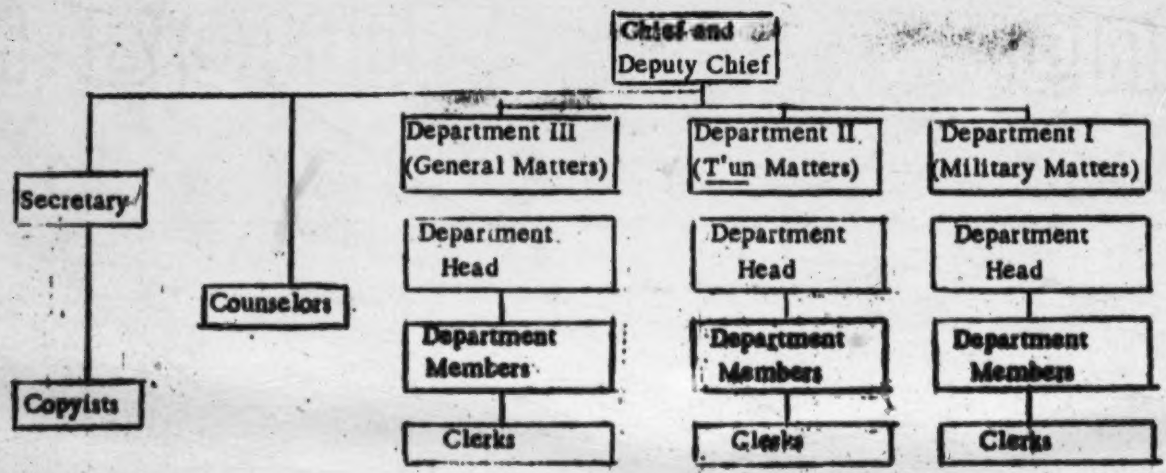
CHART SHOWING THE SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION OF THE T'UN BUREAU OF THE NEWLY ORGANIZED 34TH DIVISION OF THE ARMY


Chief and Deputy Chief
Secretary
Copyists
Counselors
Department III (General Matters)
Department II (T'un Matters)
Department I (Military Matters)
Department Head
Department Head
Department Head
Department Members
Department Members
Department Members
Clerks
Clerks
Clerks

Bureau of T'un Administration set up in 1933.

/123 cont./

C The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into
701 people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being
425 entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the
651 Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men.
The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un
guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were
solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the
five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are
7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i,
tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution
of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given
4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and
the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each
being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting
men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt
and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of
silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8
liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and
land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to
plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent.
Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and
general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There
C are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted
701 to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/
425 /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao
soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields
651 in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system,
563 totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was
M directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted
701 out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier
region is about 1,000 strong. The maintainance of the Black
648 Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from
[425] the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on
[177] the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have
been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line
between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming
obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

2:Ling & Ruey--183 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

/124/

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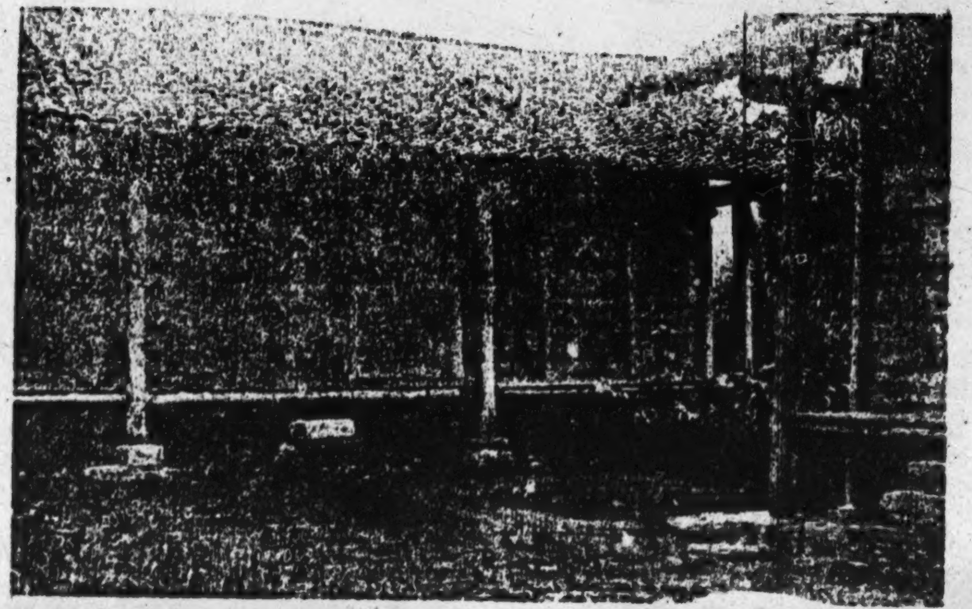

Illus. 57. A Miao t'un granary at Tsung-ping-ying, Feng-huang.

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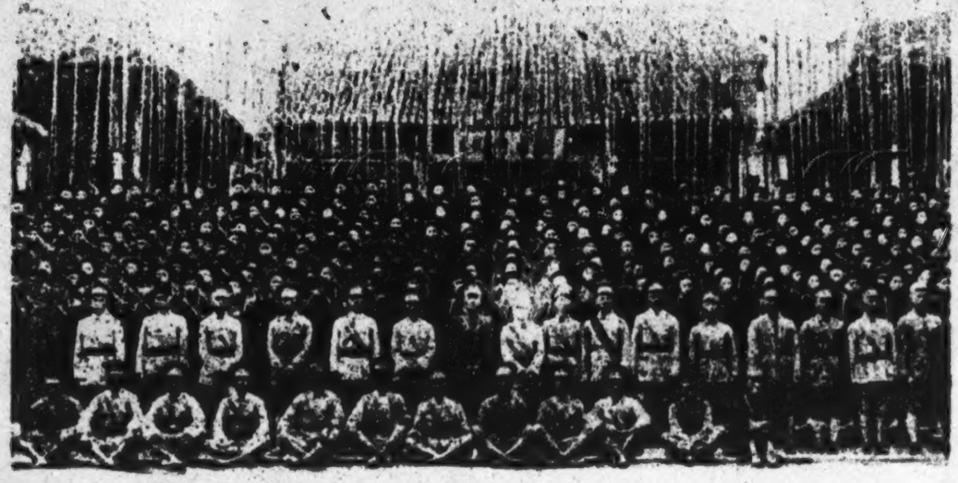

Illus. 58. The Black Flag Battalion of the Miao troops drilled by the Newly Organized 34th Division of the Army.

/126 cont./

000 obliterated. There is no longer the need for this kind of system
C of t'un defense against the Miao. In fact, unrest in the Miao
563 area today is often due to the maladministration of the t'un
669 fields system. The Miao petty officers and the t'un leaders
[425] often are oppressive in collecting rent and sometimes are corrupt
[651] in their methods, thus causing dissatisfaction and disturbances.
M In the twenty-sixth year of the Republic /1937/ the Miao re-
648 bellion in western Hunan arose because of the t'un land system.
[429] It resulted in the burning of t'un granaries and killing of t'un
officers. Although the rebellion was pacified only after bloody
[701] and expensive campaigns, it is imperative to change the t'un
and enter the newly opened or reclaimed land as available for
taxation, so as to reach a fundamental solution.

/127/ CHAPTER EIGHT

MAGIC AND RELIGION

M The Englishman, Bronislaw Malinowski, has said: "There
121 are no people however primitive without religion and magic.
771 Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lack-
ing either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack
has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive
community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers,
there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the
Sacred and the Profane;; in other words, the domain of Magic
000 and Religion and that of Science." (1) According to the report

1. Malinowski: "Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh yü Tsung-chiao /Magic, Science and Religion/," paper in *Science, Religon and Reality* by

According to the report
114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryūzō: "The Miao of
771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due
to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the religion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices.
Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane, or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their sinicization.

(1) Religion

776 The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese,
771 "gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.
[177] All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have
supernatural powers; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits,
[192] or gods, they are all called "kuei," /kueŋ˥˩/ in the Miao
language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

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/127 cont./
121
771 Joseph Needham, translated into Chinese by Li An-che, Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao yü Shen-hua, page 1, The Commercial Press.

2. Torii Ryūzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation Bureau's Chinese translation, page 259, The Commercial Press.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and
kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good
772 and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
776 of heaven /ta˥ pia˧˩/. The earth, on which people live, is the
yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell,
but they believe that under the earth there lives a different
kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little
finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul /pien˧˩/ and a body /ko˧-tɕʻieŋ˧/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine,
then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei.
When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized
775 by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
[761] and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for
him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into
a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil
kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either
immediately reborn into another state of existence and come
back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "/pe˧ tsʻə˥˥/"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the
most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their
controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei /kueŋ˧
[824] so˩˧/ and trees, tree kuei /kueŋ˧ ndu˧˥/. When there is a
*[782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated
[237] above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,

/128 cont./ In recent years,
177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of
these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the
other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can
exist together.

756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [paY tɛY ɕionY] is commonly
called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer
[paY tɛY tɕaY] called the guest lao-shih. [illegible]
When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the
most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing im-
[292] portant sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeon-
ing the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia
include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a
short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper
parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a
752 spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.
177 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
[292] sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest
sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For com-
177 munication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
791 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
787 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit.
"fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to
select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date
setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

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[648] 1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so call the religion transmitted by the Chinese the "guest religion."

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297 - ANALYST]

177 /129 cont./
791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of
787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

The best way to understand the religion of a people is to
123 participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and
making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to
observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
*782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more
than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih.
Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by
no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we
can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the
religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious
[177] ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the
Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

/129 cont./

*782 Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular
reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities
and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors"
and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity
[177] of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the
guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei
not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special
sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into
[755] four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness;
[783] (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon
or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a
[777] conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after
[783] death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be
[556] divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask
[842] for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one
hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are
also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the
Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness
[755] and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a
[842] Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the
[177] cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these .

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the
Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice"
to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices;
[755] "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the
Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking
cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "washing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange
[783] phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seeking
[777] resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the
Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of
a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning
[842] the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies
performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/130 cont./

*782 177 Among the 24 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the guest religion, the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and "Flying Mountain" are routine sacrifices, and the rest may be performed for multiple entreaties. The following is a presentation in separate divisions of the various sacrifices to kuei in both the Miao and guest religions.

1. Miao Religion

(1) Sacrifice to the Ancestors

769 *782 The sacrifice to the ancestors, called [ɕi˧˥ ɕioŋ˧˥] in the Miao language, is performed generally once a year in every family, but sometimes once every few years, after the autumn harvest. In the event of a death, it must be performed not later than within five or six days after the death. The kuei invoked are called [ɕioŋ˧˥ lio˥˧ ɕioŋ˧˥ ko˧˥˧]. The place for the sacrifice is beside the fire pit inside the house and the time is in the early morning. They set up a winnowing basket in which are placed five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, with the rest of the space filled with pa-pa.[1] The winnowing basket is laid down on the left side of the fire pit, and a bowl of beeswax and a bamboo tube on the right. The Miao Sorcerer sits facing the fire pit, beating the bamboo tube with his right hand, uttering incantations, the general idea of which is as follows:

"The fifth and the sixth months has already gone by; the ninth and the tenth months have arrived. In the loaded fields the five grains have ripened. They carry the grain back home, the men on their shoulders with a pole and the women on their, backs. They cannot eat it all; they invited me to come. I brought soldiers and horses to fill this house; I am burning beeswax, beating the bamboo tube, and have prepared the wine, meat, pa-pa, and paper money. I beg you kuei to receive them, but hold them for the time being without eating them!"

769 787 At this point he ceases to beat the bamboo tube and with a pair of chiao-tzu (1) divines the fortunes of the whole family

[1] [i.e. - maize baked into a crust - ANALYST]

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/130 cont./

1. Chiao-tzu, an implement of divination which is made from two bamboo splints. The character chiao as written here is not found in any /Chinese/ books on etymology. It is probably a miswriting of the character chiao in pei-chiao /an implement of divination/; four other characters with the same sound are also used for it. The method of divining with chiao is: The sides looking up of the two chiao are the yang chiao, the sides looking down are the yin chiao, and one side looking up and one looking down are the sheng /"excellent"/ chiao.

one by one. /131/ Yang chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies wealth; yin chiao (both chiao looking down) signifies sickness and calamity. Sheng ("excellent," also written with the homonym meaning "holy") (1) chiao (one chiao looking

1. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (Sung dynasty), Yen Fan Lu: "...sheng chiao, one looking up, one looking down." Yeh Meng-te, Shih Lin Yen Yü: "One looking down, one looking up are sheng /"holy"/ chiao."

769 /131 cont./
[787] down, one looking up) indicates nothing is going to happen. At
the same time he utters the following incantation:

769 "The five bowls of meat and the five bowls of wine as
*782 well as all the *pa-pa* in the winnowing basket are all offered to the
ancestors, and we beg you to eat!"

At this point the host burns the paper money to send off the *kuei*, and the sorcerer-priest continues the incantation:

"You have now eaten up the wine and meat. Now we are burning paper money for you! Before being burned it is paper but after being burned it becomes money. Divide it equally among you. Please go back and be good kuei and do not think of coming among mortals. In this world, in the morning and night when we eat our meals, we shall call you. When called, then please come. If, in your spirit /*yin*/ world, you know of our calamities, please do your best to help us."

[787] On finishing the incantation he divines for a second time
with the *chiao-tzu*, and when he gets the *yin chiao*, then the performance is considered finished. While performing the sacrifice to the ancestors, the sorcerer-priest remains seated from beginning to end. When the ancestral sacrifice is performed because of a death
[777] in the family, then a basin of water is used, in which all members
of the family must wash their hands in order to remove bad luck. The wine, meat, and the *pa-pa* for the sacrifice are eaten by the family and the sorcerer-priest. Whatever remains is given to the sorcerer-priest to take back with him.

(2) Eating Pigs

*782 "Eating pigs" is called /kueŋ˧ mbaʎ/ in the Miao language,
[769] which means the "kuei"of pigs." It is the great sacrificial cere-
mony of the Miao, which honors the grandparents and the house kuei
[776] as well as the thunder kuei. From beginning to end it is performed
[796] for four days and is divided into 14 parts. For this occasion four
pigs are prepared beforehand as well as a number of chin of water-buffalo meat. The beef is cooked, and cut into slices, which are

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] [776] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. No beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] [263] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao superstition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood; 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." 1/A

A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

1/A [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/132 cont./

782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-
buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether
there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of
water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose
four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a
red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece
of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The
sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged
sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and
a bracelet. He utters an incantation, while attendants hold the
[788] wing pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and
drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

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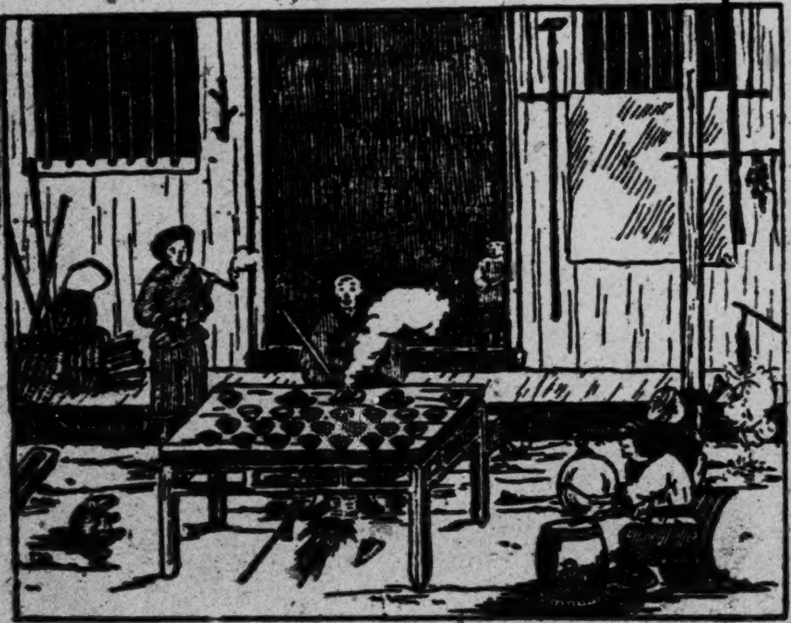


Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

/133 cont./

*782 of water-buffalo meat are offered, one string being offered each time, and ending with the seventh string. Then after the pig is offered to the kuei by the sorcerer-priest, the pig is sent to the kitchen to be killed and cooked. Then the cut-up meat of the pig and the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs are distributed in seven bowls and offered to the kuei.

The fourth part is performed in the afternoon toward evening. A small table is set outside the entrance, on which are placed incense, rice, and *li-shih* (1), and a pair of green candles as well as five cups of wine.

The fifth part is performed at night after the first night watch is sounded. Two large tables are put together in the middle room. It is surrounded by a number of benches. On the tables are spread out 12 bowls of wine in two rows, six in a row, and 12 bowls of cooked rice in one long row. On top of each bowl of rice is a piece of pork and a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. There are also 12 bowls of meat, placed like the bowls of rice in a long row. In front of the bowls of meat are a bowl of tea and a bowl of sour soup. On one corner of the table is a wooden bucket, on which are two dried rice shoots and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and the members of the lower generation as well as the close relatives of the same clan sit down around the table. The sorcerer-priest performs his ritual, and the rest light fire-[788]crackers, blow the signal horn, and beat the drum, filling the hall with rumbling and roaring.

The sixth part is performed after the second watch is sounded. A long door plank is set up outside the ground floor. On the plank are laid nine bowls of wine, nine bowls of meat, nine bowls of sweet wine, a bowl of sour soup, and a bowl of tea. On the right side is placed an upper millstone, on which is set up a tub bucket on which are put a dried rice shoot and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and three members of the lower generation are seated in a row, and behind them is hung a red rug.

1. *Li-shih*, a kind of paper horse.

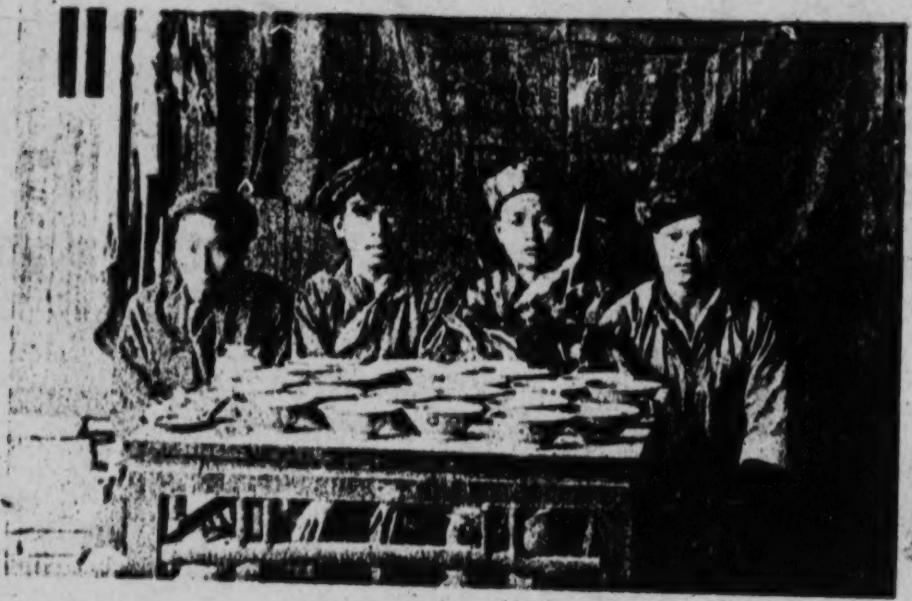
/133 cont./

*782 The sorcerer-priest carries out his performance by three times toasting and three times offering, five times toasting and five times offering, seven times toasting and seven times offering, until nine toasts and nine offerings have been made /sic/. The three members of the lower generation sit respectfully to keep the kuei company, as in Illus. 60. They sit until one of them has to go outside to relieve himself. Then the hostess gets out a cock, which is offered as a sacrifice by the sorcerer-priest, after which it is killed and cooked, and offered to the kuei.

On the third day, the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth parts are performed. The seventh part is performed in the early morning. A long door plank is again set up, and on it are laid nine bowls each of wine and meat, a bowl of sour soup, and a bowl of tea, as well as incense, rice /uncooked/, and li-shih /paper horse/. A bow and arrow, a silver bracelet, and a bamboo splint are stuck on the table. There is also an upper millstone on which is a /Illus. 60 appears on p. 134/ /135/ wooden bucket with two dry rice shoots and a double-edged sword on it. On the handle of the millstone is a bamboo-handled sieve, in which is found crosswise a wood plank, one end of which is cut into the shape of a fish with a small hole in it, tied with a piece of red cord. On the wood is carved the sign X. When everything is set out the sorcerer-priest starts to carry out his performance.

The eighth part is performed with wine, cooked rice, and tea, seven bowls each, placed on the floor of the main house at the base of a pillar. The sorcerer-priest enacts his performance, uttering an incantation and making sacrifices to the ancestors. [773] The Miao consider the base of the middle pillar the family altar where their ancestors rest.

The ninth part is performed in the room to the left of the main house. A big fat pig is used, its four legs tied up and a wooden rod going through /between the legs/. The two ends of the rod are tied onto two wooden sticks. First, the sorcerer-priest offers the animal to the kuei. Then it is killed and cooked, and the meat packed into seven small bamboo baskets. The meat is then put into seven bowls, which are set up with seven bowls of



Illus. 60, Eating Pigs, B.

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*782 wine and cooked rice. In addition meat is sliced, and seven slices strung together to make one string. In all, seven strings of meat are put on a platter. The sorcerer-priest utters an [787] incantation and divines with the *chiao* and sends off the kuei. This [776] is the sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains.

The tenth part is performed at noon, when two "Five-Flower pillars (1) are set up in an open area, and to each pillar is tied a pig. The hind legs of the pigs are bound together with hemp ropes. This rope must have been made by members of the lower generation. Moreover, a cock is tied to a small wooden pillar near the ornate pillars by means of a fine hemp string threaded through the beak. The sorcerer-priest stands under the eaves of the house, wearing a cap and long gown and holding in his hand a [292] tree branch. The host wears a ceremonial hat and a red rug thrown over his body. He first picks up a bench and places it against one of the Five-Flower pillars, holding in his left hand a double-edged sword and a bamboo splint and flourishing the latter as if he were driving the pigs away. The sorcerer-priest utters an incantation to send the pigs away, and after the incense and the paper are burned, the various members of the lower generation come out grasping weapons as in Illus. 61. They bow three times facing the interior of the house and three times facing the outside. Then they kill the pigs and the chicken.

The eleventh part is performed in front of the main house. A bamboo mat is spread on the ground and on it are placed the caps and clothes of the members of the lower generation. Behind the mat there is a bench, on which are placed a bowl of wine and a piece of water-buffalo meat. The sorcerer-priest stands outside [292] the entrance, wearing a wide rain hat on his head and carrying a [482] bamboo cage on his back, in which are clothes and other articles.

[531] 1. Five-Flower pillars are made of pine *shan* wood about 3 chang long, on which are carved ornamental designs, which are smeared with red and white colors.

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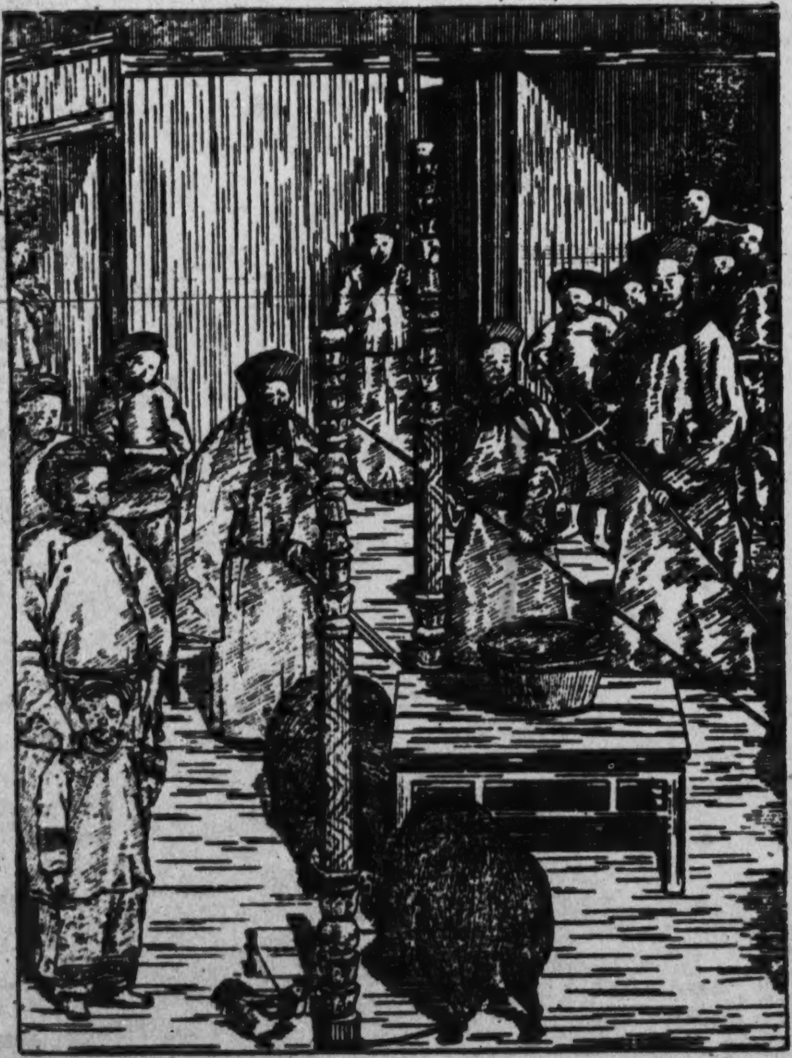

Illus. 61. Eating Pigs, C.

/135 cont/

*782 Wielding a wooden rod, he utters an incantation, telling of the [776] source of the kuei of pigs. After the incantation he goes directly into the house and partakes of the wine and meat on the bench.

The twelfth part is performed late at night or in the fourth or fifth watch. The long door boards are put up as a table. /Illus. 61 appears on p. 136/ /137/ The two pairs of pigs from the Five-Flower pillars, which have been killed, cut up, and washed clean, are put on the table with the heads of the pigs facing the interior of the house. On the table are further laid out wine, meat, and sweet wine, nine bowls each, as well as a bowl of sour soup and a bowl of tea. There are also 12 bowls of cooked rice, on each of which is placed a string of lean and fat pork. The upper millstone, incense, rice /uncooked/ and li-shih are also there. There is no blowing and beating of instruments, only the sorcerer-priest's soft-voiced, gentle petition.

On the fourth day the thirteenth and the fourteenth parts are performed. The thirteenth takes place when the cock crows in the fifth watch. A member of the lower generation with a felt [292] rug thrown over his body and a straw hat on his head holds an ox horn containing wine in his left hand and a knife in his right hand, as well as grasping a string of seven slices of pork. He walks to a river bank or a well. He empties the wine from the horn and puts in clear water. While returning, he eats the seven slices of meat. Arriving at the gate, he imitates the crowing of the cock. After entering the house he sits down. On the table is laid a tray on which are set three cups of wine and three slices of meat. Under the tray is a jar, into which the water is emptied from the horn. The sorcerer-priest strikes the drum and utters an incantation. After the incantation the water carrier runs out the door, while the host throws ashes from used firewood on his body.

The fourteenth part is to send the kuei away and is performed in the early morning. The pigs' heads are cooked and cut into small slices or chunks, and are distributed in three trays, on each of which are placed three cups of wine. One tray is put at the foot of the middle pillar in the main house; one tray is placed on the floor of the front-half side room; and one

/137 cont./

*782 tray is put beside the entrance. The incantation, uttered by the sorcerer-priest sends off the kuei.

(3) Ta Chia Hsien

755 *782 When a Miao becomes ill and taking medicine does not make him better, then he must make a vow to "ta chia hsien"/lit. "beat the family ancestors"/, which in the Miao language is called [p[illegible] mb[illegible] pioŋ˥˩], which means "beating Miao pigs." It may be performed during the illness or after the recovery. Before the event takes place, the host must serve notice to members of the [602] mother's brother's family, inviting them to send seven members of the maternal uncle's family (six men and a woman) to be guests. If that family does not have so many people, the maternal uncle may ask other people to make up the number. But the persons invited should not have the same surname as the host. No day [777] needs to be selected as lucky, but the following days must be avoided: if a child is born in the family, it is necessary to wait one month before the ceremony is performed; the birth of kittens also necessitates one month's separation; the birth of pigs, goats, cows, horses, and dogs causes a postponement of 12 days; the hatching of chicks, ducklings, and goslings, three days; a funeral in the family or when the head of the family has witnessed a funeral of another family, 12 days. If the notice should arrive before the time of expiration of any of the above periods, the maternal uncle's family may refuse such an invitation. If the host because he seeks an immediate recovery from a sickness cannot wait any longer, he may invite other guests, but they may not have the same surname as he.

/138/ The Ta Chia Hsien ceremony is divided into four parts, requiring a whole day from morning till night. There [776] are altogether eight kuei invited: [n[illegible] nɛ˧˦ tso[illegible] teŋ˥˩], n[illegible] m[illegible] bu˨ ɲieŋ˨˩], tsoŋ˨˩ teŋ˨˩ tsoŋ˥˩ pieŋ˥˩], [bu˨ ɲieŋ˨˩ tsei˥ nɛ˧˦]. (it is said that these four are the ordinary names for the kuei of

/138 cont./

755 the ancestors). [bu˦ naŋ˦ tʂoŋ˧˩ liau˧˥], [a˧ naŋ˦ tsoŋ˧ kaɤ˥˩], (this
*782 is the oldest ancestral kuei); [tʂoŋ˧ meŋ˧ tʻɛ˧ ɕio˩], [tʂoŋ˧˩ toŋ˧
[779] tʻɛ˧˩ liau˥˩], (these are the kuei names of the seven invited guests). The place is beside the fire pit inside the house. The Miao sorcerer-priest sits on a low stool behind the fire pit, facing the entrance. In front of him is a bamboo tube and a bowl of wax. In front of the fire pit is set up a square table, on which are placed ten square pieces of fancy /flower/ paper divided in two rows. On each square of paper in the back row is placed a bowl of wine, and behind the back row are stuck up four paper kuei. In the two far corners of the table are stuck up two paper flags. Two chickens are tied to the legs of the table with fine cord through their beaks. Two pigs with their feet tied up with rope are placed in front of the chickens, heads facing the stove. To the right of the Miao sorcerer-priest, on the floor, there is a bamboo mat, on which is a /cooked/ rice bucket /Illus. 62 appears here/ /139/ with the lid off, and a bit in front is a jar, in which is put a piece of fancy paper with a bowl of wine on it. In front of the mat to the right of the fire pit is a winnowing basket. Above it three pieces of bamboo form a semicircular top, on the outside of which paper is pasted, and then cloth. Inside are stuck three paper kuei, in the middle four pieces of fancy paper, and on each of the two pieces of paper in the rear is placed a bowl of wine, see Illus. 62.

For the first part, which concerns inviting the shen, the Miao sorcerer sits on the stool, without using any of his magic implements, and only uttering an incantation, whose general purport is as follows:

"All you older and younger relatives of the host!

The host has recently run into bad luck. When he walked on the road, he saw strange happenings among the grass and trees. When he ate, there were inexplicable fragments and pieces of a broken saucepan in his rice. When the host looked quickly, then he saw these strange phenomena. The (here the name of the ancestral kuei of the family is mentioned) kuei, wanting food to eat, first came and did these things, then made the host fall sick. The host, not getting well, made a vow, and after this, his sickness left him.

/139 cont./

755 *782 The vow has extricated him from the clutches of the kuei, and the sickness has not come back, but is forever uprooted. The host has saved money and bought a fat pig from the market as well as paper money. Having waited for the passing of the days to be avoided, then he comes to the sacrifice to the kuei. Sorcerer-priests are very few in this world, and he came to my home to invoke my help. So, here I am. I ask all the kuei to come here. I burn a bowl of beeswax. The bamboo tube and the bell are beside the fire pit. The two winnowing baskets filled with meat, the gold and silver cans, the gold and silver chair cushions, all are set at the sides of the pit. The table for the sacrifice to the kuei, the paper money for the redemption of the soul, the fancy /flower/ bowl to hold the wine, the fat pigs, big and small, two large chickens--these

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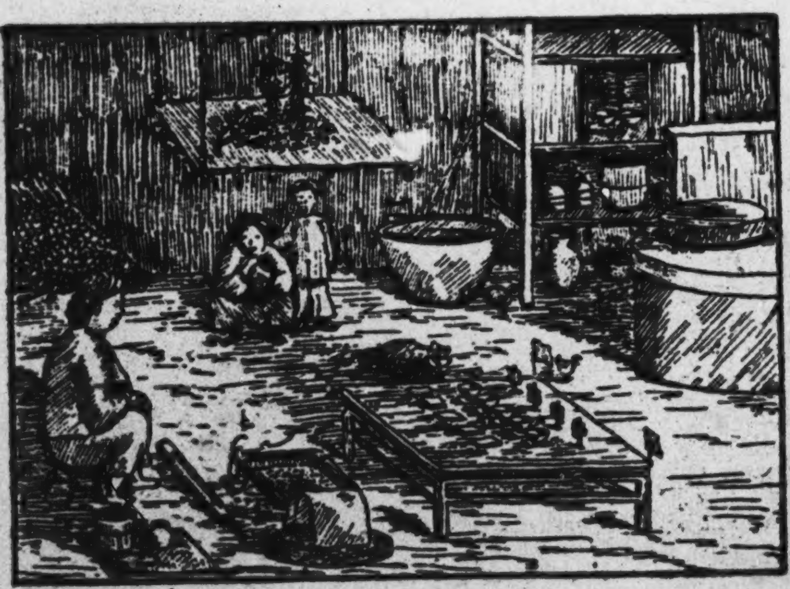

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Illus. 62. Ta Chia Hsien

/139 cont./

755 are all placed beside the table. We request the kuei to come
*782 to take them. And after taking them, please eat quickly."(He
[776] utters the name of the ancestral kuei of the family.)

The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube. While beating the bamboo tube, the Miao sorcerer utters an incantation, generally describing many supernatural phenomena, such as the mischievous behavior of the 12 large trees; strange happenings after eating fish, meat, bamboo shoots, and smoking tobacco; strange happenings with the water at the time of using water, in a bath or sitting in a boat; strange happenings with clothes; strange happenings with ants and snails; with wooden rods and bamboo poles, etc.

The third part is the handing over of the animals. After the incantation for the second part is finished, there is a short respite. The Miao sorcerer then picks up the bamboo tube and the bowl of beeswax is moved onto the table. Afterward he asks a man and a woman from among the seven guests from the maternal uncle's family to sit opposite each other, the man inside next to the bamboo mat facing outward, the woman outside next to the winnowing basket facing inward. The rest of the five men sit at the table on a bench next to the fire pit, without making a movement. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bamboo chiao in his right hand and ringing the hand bell with his left, begins once more to utter an incantation:

> /140/ "The wine for ta chia hsien is now ready. There are altogether seven empty wine bowls, two beside the fire pit and five beside the entrance. Please come and take them! After taking them, please do not drink right away. As for the pigs and chickens, if not sent they will not arrive. Once we send them they will arrive. I invoke my patron saint's soldiers and horses; I order my own 1,000 men and 10,000 horses to help deliver the large pig, to help send the small pig and the two chickens. The chickens are sent to the coop, the small pig is sent to the pig sty, and the large pig is sent to the tower."

/140 cont./

755 At this point the sorcerer-priest makes the gesture of forcibly
*782 sending off the pig. While sending off the pig he says three phrases
789 of a magic formula in a low tone. The bystanders can only see his lips moving but cannot hear anything. According to the Miao sorcerer, at the time his teacher taught him this formula, he repeatedly warned him that after that day he must not teach it to any insincere disciple and must not teach them indiscriminately to anyone, or else, the person who teaches it may lose his life or his methods would not be effective. After having finished the three phrases of the magic formula to send off the pig, once more in a loud voice he intones:

> 755 "Helpers take the wooden rod and hit the pig in the
> *782 chest and kill it. Roast it with fire and wash it with water! Do it quickly! The kuei have been waiting here for fully half a day already."

After the incantation is over, the host and the helpers kill the animal with the rod and carry it inside the house. They roast it over the fire, then wash it with water, lay bare the stomach, and cut the pig into two halves: one half is taken by the host, with one leg cut off for the sorcerer-priest, and the other half is received by the seven guests. The other pig is similarly distributed, but after the host's share is put aside, the guests' share is cut into small chunks, and seven bowls are filled with meat. Two bowls are placed on fancy paper in the winnowing basket, and five bowls, on fancy paper at the table. Then, a few other chunks of meat are put into a tin can on the mat. After the meat has been set up, each person returns to his original seat.

The fourth part is to send the kuei away. The sorcerer-priest, ringing the hand bell with his left hand and holding the chiao with his right hand, utters an incantation to the following effect:

"The pork has been cooked in the saucepan. Seven fine bowls of meat and seven fine bowls of wine have been placed beside the stove. Another ten bowls of meat have been put beside the entrance. This sorcerer-priest takes this wine and meat and offers them to the ancestral kuei. So, please receive them."

/140 cont./

755 *782 [787] After the incantation, divination with chiao is performed for every member of the family. Next, divination is performed to see whether the kuei have gone. If the kuei have gone, then the guests taste a little of the pork, and then return home, carrying with them their share of the meat. At this time the sorcerer-priest and the host both cannot eat the pork. The sorcerer-priest has to collect all the paper kuei, paper flags, and paper money, and burn them up on the main road. Meanwhile, the host kills the two chickens and cooks them, and waits for the sorcerer-priest to come back so that they may eat it together.

/141/ (4) Bludgeoning the Ox

755 *782 842 [787] [776] [231] Bludgeoning the Ox is called in the Miao language /kueŋ˥ ɲie˩/, meaning the "kuei of the water buffalo," and is the greatest of all Miao sacrificial rites. When a Miao is seriously ill and it is found through divination that the kuei of the water buffalo is causing the trouble, or when a person is childless by middle age and it is divined that the water buffalo kuei is preventing the Queen of the Nether World at South Heaven Gate to send forth a child, a Miao sorcerer is invited to the house to burn beeswax, to beat gong and drum, and to make a great vow to bludgeon an ox. After the vow is made, if the sickness has been cured or the son sought is born, it is then believed that the kuei of the ox has bestowed it. Then, it becomes necessary to make *782 preparations to fulfill the vow to bludgeon an ox. The selection of the water buffalo to buy is most important. It is necessary to select a water buffalo with the four quarters having four spirals /?/ and the ears, eyes, mouth, nose, horns, and hoofs must be right and complete. Sometimes it is very difficult to buy such an animal, and when found, the price is always prohibitive. If the host succeeds in buying a water buffalo at the market, then someone is sent home ahead to carry the news, so that the members of the family can prepare gongs and drums to meet the ox halfway. When the ox is led into the house, the gongs and drums stop, and

/141 cont./
*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the
animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on
[787] entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing
[777] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it
portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses
to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then
it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought,
a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to
the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation,
the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest
to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never
changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first
frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the
602 kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked
[203] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The
most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's
brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the
"leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacri-
ficing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal
uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first
belongs to the /host's/ mother's brother, the second to the wife's
maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close
relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notifica-
[203] tion presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expres-
sion of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacri-
*782 fice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat,
[783] a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then
[784] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The
"leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of
the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to
as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/,
and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate
[550] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official
[177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying
parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/141 cont./
*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear
is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is
the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water
buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two
chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine,
and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to
[178] the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days.
The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-
bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's
[788] house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes
out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them
and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water
buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the
lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have
arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing
[533] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30,
[535] "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating
the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances.
The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums."
(See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the
drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other
guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and
last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins
his performance, using two large tables put together in the main
house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks,
on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod hold-
ing a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded
on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-
[292] priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full
dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The
sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next.
Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below.
The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and
holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

/142 cont. /

*782 After each passage the musicians play their instruments a while. When the sorcerer-priest has occasion to stand up, the four "leg-bearing" men who accompanied the kuei also stand up; when the sorcerer-priest sits down, the "leg-bearing" men also sit down; when he presents wine, they must also do so. From first to last it is done nine times until late at night.

In the morning of the second day the sorcerer-priest orders the helpers to go outside the village to choose an open area to erect Five-Flower pillars. After the pillars are erected they make bamboo rings with bamboo strips and put them around the pillars. A piece of hemp rope is used to tie the nose of the ox to the bamboo ring. The creeper brought by the "leg-bearing" relatives are used to bind up the horns so that the animal cannot hurt anyone with the horns, see Illus. 63. After the arrangements have been finished, the sorcerer-priest is asked to make an inspection, and if he finds everything satisfactorily arranged, then they can proceed. The host then changes into new clothes, and offers wine and meat as sacrifices to the kuei, burns incense
[788] and paper, and kneels three times and kowtows nine times facing the ox. At the same time the sorcerer-priest utters an incantation, telling the origin of the ox kuei. After the incantation is finished, the mother's brother takes hold of the spear and acts as if he were chasing the ox to stab it. The spear is then taken by a young man to do the actual stabbing of the animal. At the same time the din from the drums and gongs rends the air and the ox runs around the Five-Flower pillars. /Illus. 63 appears between pp. 142 and 143./ /143/ with the man pursuing and repeatedly stabbing, until the animal is dazed and falls to the ground.
[787] They note the direction in which the head falls to decide whether the sign is auspicious or not. If the head faces toward the host's house, it is a good omen; if the head faces away, then it is a bad omen.

After the animal has been stabbed to death, then the meat is divided up. The head and heart, liver, entrails, and bowels go to the host to be used to sacrifice to the kuei. The left and right hind legs go to the "first- and second-leg-bearing" relatives,

/between pp. 142 and 143. /

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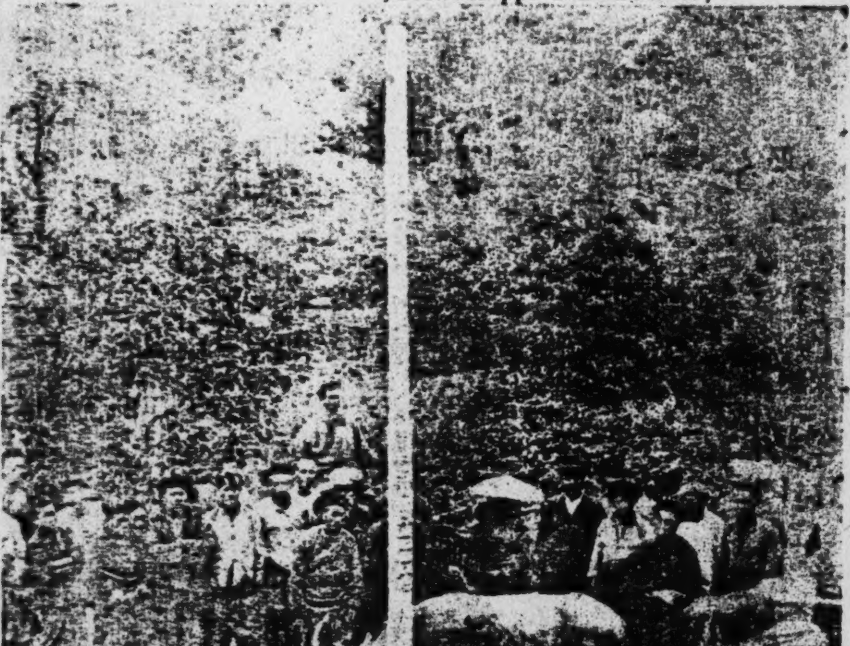

Illus. 63. Bludgeoning the Ox.

/143 cont./

*782 and the left and right forelegs to the "third- and fourth-leg-bearing" relatives. The breast portion goes to the sorcerer-priest.

In the morning of the third day, the sorcerer-priest once more performs his ritual in the main house. At the same time the guests are leaving. [574] Besides the "leg-bearing" relatives, who each receives a leg, the other friends and relatives all get portions of the beef from six liang to half a chin, sometimes as much as two chin, depending upon the degree of intimacy they have with the host.

(5) Redeeming the Soul

755 *782 774 [753] [776] Should a person fall ill while at the market or any other place through drinking well water or river water, the Miao consider this to be his losing his soul. Then they ask a sorcerer-priest to come to redeem the soul. In Miao this is called [lio˥˧ kueŋ˥˧], originally meaning "kuei of springs." The two kuei invoked are called [naŋ˧˥ nɛ˩˧ lio˥˧ u˧] and [naŋ˧˥ mɛ˩˧ lio˥˧ tɛɤ˥˧]. The time is in broad daylight, the place in front of the main entrance or any vacant ground. A table is set up on the ground, on which are laid five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, three sticks of incense. The Miao sorcerer uses only a pair of chiao-tzu and utters an incantation which in general states:

> "Some time ago the host drank water at a well. Perhaps his soul was caught by the duke or the old lady of the well, with the result that he has become sick. There are pains in his hands and feet, making his movements up and down very difficult. Each time he sees a stone staircase, his heart flutters. Now we come with wine and meat to redeem his soul, with silver and gold to redeem his soul. Pray, release his soul quickly so that he can have an early recovery."

Although the Miao sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his hands he does not divine with them. After the incantation he burns the paper to send off the kuei.

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(6) Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples

When a Miao, whether a man or a woman, gets a pimple [753] on his foot or leg which does not heal for a long time, it is con- [776] sidered that the [naŋ˦ ŋuei˦ pi˥˩nu˥˩] and [naŋ˦ nu˦ pi˥ ʂɛ˥˩] are causing it. Then it is necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to sacrifice to the kuei during the daytime in the main house, with five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, /144/ and three slender sticks of incense. In the Miao language this is called /paɵ˥ pi˥ nu˦/. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao-tzu in the right hand, and the words of the incantation he utters merely implores the kuei to bring about recovery.

[787] In divination with chiao-tzu the yang chiao and yin chiao indicate misfortune; the sheng chiao indicates good fortune. If it turns up yang or yin chiao, it is necessary to repeat the incantation and divine again. As soon as the sheng chiao turns up, the paper can be burned to send away the kuei.

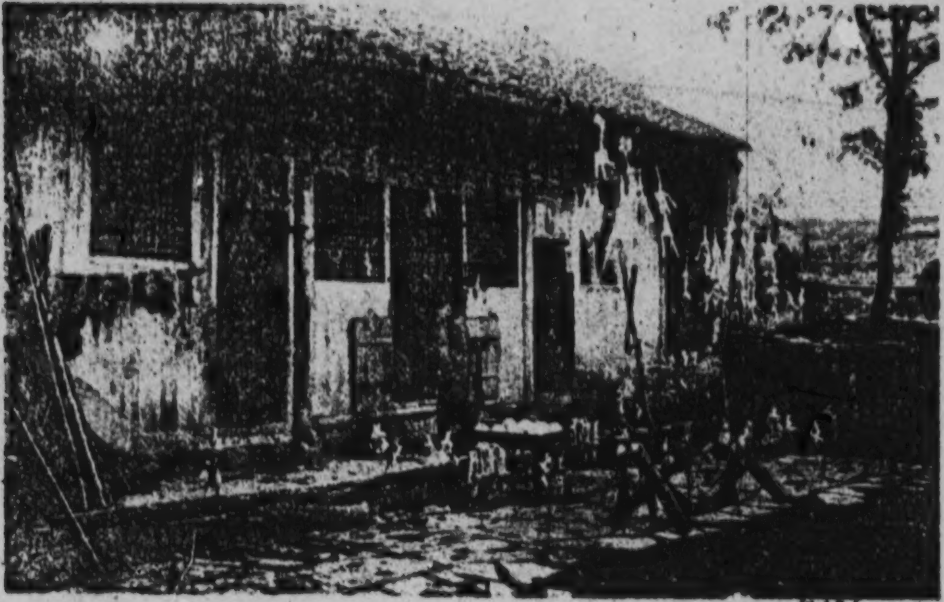
(7) Ta Kan Lo

*782 Ta Kan Lo is called [ta˥˩ ʂʻio˨ tʻa˥˩ lieŋ˦] in the Miao 787 language. When a Miao at home happens to have a rat urinate [825] on him, or a hen suddenly crows or produces a soft-shelled egg; or when on going out he sees uphill two snakes together; or when walking a bird urinates on his head, these various phenomena encountered are all regarded as bad omens by the Miao. Then [791] they ask for a diviner's calculation, without telling directly about the strange occurrence that has been witnessed. If what the diviner finds out corresponds with what one has seen, then the sorcerer-priest must be asked to perform Ta Kan Lo /Beating the Kan-Lo/. *782 Each performance, not counting preparation, takes about half a day, from early morning till noon. The ceremony is divided into four parts as follows:

/144 cont./

*782 The first part consists of the invocation of the kuei, in
776 Miao called [zɑ˨ piɑ˥˧]. There are four kuei invoked: [nɑŋ˨ nɛ˨ kueŋ˧ tio˦], [nɑŋ˨ mɑ˨ kueŋ˧ lieŋ˦], [kueŋ˧ bu˨ kueŋ˧ teŋ˧], and [kueŋ˧ zoŋ˨ kueŋ˧ piɑ˧]. According to Miao sorcerers the four kuei are two males and two females, the most respected kuei in heaven. The invocation of the kuei takes place in front of
*782 the main house. The sorcerer-priest hangs out the paper streamers which he cut the previous day in the host's house on three tree trunks. He then encircles the tree trunks with paper banners planted to form a semicircle. At the foot of the steps is a small table, on which are laid out 12 bowls, bottoms up, and wine is poured into the hollows of the bottoms instead of wine cups. In another small bowl burns beeswax. The Miao sorcerer stands on the steps, holding the chiao in his right hand and ringing
[788] a hand bell in his left hand, mumbling some phrases to himself. He then begins to invoke the kuei (Illus. 64). Before he utters the incantation, he first calls out /ha ji jo o ho ho/. His incantation follows, with the general purport as given below:

> "The sun rises and the sun sets. The smoke from the beeswax in the dish rises to the sky and leads the kuei to this house. This beeswax is burned by my (the sorcerer designates himself) hand. The smoke from the wax rises up the mountain slope, while I, the sorcerer-priest, stand here before this house. The smoke from the wax changes to mist, shrouding the mountain slope and the sorcerer-priest. The smoke from the wax goes up to the sky and together with the mist /Illus. 64 appears here/ /146/ protects the world. The kuei, not knowing the sorcerer-priest, are frightened. I do it three times, and burn three piles of beeswax. The smoke from the wax drifts before the sorcerer-priest's altar, leading down my patron saints. We ask hundreds and thousands of honorable patron saints to come here. Such and such patron priests... (calling the patron saints by name) have all come! Please do not forsake me. In front is the entrance, behind is the city; in front is the



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Illus. 64. Ta Kan Lo, A.

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/146 cont./

*782 mountain, behind is the slope; in front are soldiers, behind is the general. Up the hill is a path; down the stream is a boat. Each word and each phrase is to be listened to. Being in the same place, any time I may call your name. The host is sitting at peace, not going to the fields to swear oaths. At the temple he does not swear oaths, nor at home. He does not swear oaths with cold water, and when beating his wife /and children ?/ does not swear oaths. The host is willing to feed others, and does not take advantage of others, nor laugh at other people's sons and descendants. He does not act unjustly, but observes litigations all around him."

At this point he once more burns beeswax, makes a gesture of leading down the Kuei. His incantation continues:

"If the ta kan lo paper banners and their staffs become disarranged, we ask the kan lo kuei to please
*782 set them right. These are the strange occurrences
787 caused by the kan lo kuei: the pig goes mad; the
825 dog jumped on the roof; the pig ran up to the entrance; the hen entered her nest to eat her egg; the pig went up the stairs to eat a small child; the hen can crow like a cock; the cock can hatch chickens; the hen laid a soft-shelled egg; the bitch had only one puppy; the pig had a litter of two piglets; the crops ripened in the third month; a dead thing was seen when coming out the entrance; two snakes were seen together; two tigers hid in the house; a rat made a squeaking sound; a snake was seen in the house; a snake shed its skin in the house. The host had a terrible dream, dreaming he was in rain and snow, dreaming he was in the midst of a deep forest. He therefore
*782 went to the diviner. It was found that no other
776 kuei was causing these calamities, only the kan lo

/146 cont./

*782 [776] kuei were eating food and seeking sacrifices from people. A vow was made on a selected auspicious day. After the vow everything became peaceful. After a few days the host accumulated a sum of money. Wherever an ox was killed today up and down the village, with the money he bought some beef and returned home. On reaching home he sent for the sorcerer-priest. The sorcerer-priest has summoned his soldiers and horses and patron saints to come to this house. The wax is lit; the hand bell is ringing; the table has been set up and spread with fine bowls; the paper banners have been stuck up in the place; the flag poles have been erected, with paper streamers flying; a chicken has been killed, and everything is set."

*782 787 After the above incantation is over, the priest tosses the chiao-tzu beside him on the ground. He studies the chiao-tzu to divine whether the kuei have come down. The yin and yang chiao indicate that the kuei still have not come down. It is necessary to get the sheng chiao, for then the kuei have come down. If the kuei have not yet descended, it is necessary to invoke them again.

*782 /147/ The second part consists of beating the bamboo tube /paŋ ɕioŋ doŋ/. When this part is performed, the various arrangements outside the entrance are not moved, except that the bowl of wax is moved inside the entrance to the righthand corner, and the bamboo tube is placed on the ground behind the bowl of wax. The Miao sorcerer sits on a stool behind the bamboo tube. He beats it with his right hand while he utters an incantation. Each beat punctuates two words (Illus. 65). The general purport of the words are as below:

"The host has asked me today to come to perform the Ta Kan Lo, entirely of his own voluntary wish, without compulsion from anyone. The sun dragon and the moon dragon in the skies, the water dragon in the fields. I wear three steel helmets, iron shoes,

/147 cont./

*782 and /Illus. 65 appears here/ /148/ rain clothes. The bamboo tube is in front of me, and the bell is wound with red and green strips of cloth. My patron saint is standing beside the smoke from the wax. My teacher stands beside the knife. I ascend on the smoke of the wax. Now I have reached the land of the spirits /shen/. I am already with the four kan lo kuei. If you have

[142]
[351]
[291]
[519]

Illus. 65. Ta Kan Lo, B.

*782 /148 cont./

> affairs elsewhere, do not go until I have finished speaking, and then you may disappear with the smoke from the wax. I ask you to protect the host that he may be blessed with peace and long life; protect his descendants, his animals, his wealth and happiness, so that everything may be completely protected!"

The third part is repenting [tʻɯ˥ mie˦]. While performing this the sorcerer-priest stands in the middle of the house, facing the entrance. A rectangular bench is used, on which are spread five bowls of wine and five pieces of meat. The Miao [412] sorcerer holds a kitchen chopper in his hand, with the edge down, chopping right and left in the same cadence as the beating of the bamboo tube, and utters an incantation:

> "The sorcerer-priest stands inside the entrance, performing. Helpers have set out the bowls of wine and pieces of meat on the bench. The paper money, the axe, the iron knife, the scissors, and the comb are all in readiness. Will the kuei please take these. After receiving these useful articles please partake of the food slowly. I take the knife and sharpen it quickly against the stone, not to chop off benefits to the host, but to break the fetters of the kan lo kuei. Please eat five pieces of good meat, and drink five bowls of good wine. The host in the ordinary course of events has taken a vow and drunk blood. Today I request you to pardon him, and all the various misfortunes to go with the chopping of this knife. [pʻi˥ ɕia˦] (a sound to frighten the kuei). When the host walks over this knife, he will then have peace and no trouble. The former grievances between the host and any others are today all relegated to the enemy [pʻi˥ ɕia˦]. The large golden knife splits open a bright main road; the small golden knife opens a bright path."

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*782 The Miao sorcerer performs the ritual of repenting three times with the knife. He further repeats the performance with a pair of scissors, and again recites:

> [783] "The scissors of the host's family are used to do repenting for the host's sins. After he has repented, he can then receive blessings. These scissors cut only misfortunes but not blessings. They cut the mourning cloth of the host, cut the cord that ties up his feet, cut the rope that wraps around his hands, and cut his coffin. When the host steps over the scissors, he will then have peace and will get blessings. [pʻi˦˨ ɕia˧˩]. The large scissors split open a bright main road; the small scissors split open a bright path."

After the performance with the scissors, he uses a comb to repeat the ritual of repenting, combing over to the left and once to the right, and continuing the incantation:

> [783] "This sun comb and moon comb belong to the shrine of the local divinity of the soil. With it I come to get rid of the sins of the host. This comb does not comb away the host's meritorious acts but his transgressions. He constantly made vows before the shrine of the local divinity of the soil /149/ and also drank blood before the shrine, with blood left on his mouth and sweating blood in his viscera. The host, after this combing with the sun comb and moon comb, will be at peace! [pʻi˦˨ ɕia˧˩]. The large comb will comb open a bright main road; the small comb will comb open up a bright path."

*782 787 After the sorcerer has finished with the knife, scissors, and comb, he takes hold of the chiao-tzu and begins divining for the host and members of his family, uttering at the same time the following incantation:

> "The three rites of repenting having been completed, the sorcerer-priest now requests that he may question the kan lo kuei. I request that I may question the patron saint, the questions will be clear. I wish to ask the fortunes of the host's family, big and small, men

/149 cont./

*782 and women, old and young, in their affairs,
787 and about the family's wealth, crops, and
animals, etc. In accordance with the questions asked, I consider the *chiao* evidence. The *yin chiao* indicates danger; the *yang chiao* indicates peace and security; the *sheng chiao* indicates good luck. Now that the questions
*782 to the kuei have been asked, there is only the burning of the paper money. After the paper is burned, it becomes money: he who gets a lot shares a lot; he who receives little, shares little."

The fourth part consists of sending the kuei away [soŋ˥˩ kueŋ˩˥˩]. The layout for sending the kuei away is the same as that for invoking them, except that on the table there are added 12 bowls of meat and 12 piles of *pa-pa*, while the number of bowls of wine remain the same. The Miao sorcerer, holding a bell in his right hand and *chiao* in his left hand, utters the following incantation:

"All ye kuei gather here to receive sacrifices in meat and wine, 12 bowls of meat, 12 piles of meat. The wine and meat are all spread before you. The *kan lo* kuei are fond of this wine and meat. Please help yourselves. After helping yourselves, please protect this family, big and small. May they be at peace and without trouble; may they not lose money or rice and
*782 not experience lawsuits; may the cattle not have an
231 epidemic and, while eating grass, may they not fall into a pit; while drinking water, may they not fall into the river; while going up the mountain to plow, may they be safe. Protect the pigs, dogs, chickens, and ducks when let loose outside so that at night they may return home by themselves and grow without fodder. May one of them be a thousand or a hundred. May eagles fail to catch the fowls. May the host not fall
*782 when he treads on a welter of stones while walking. May the house not be lost by fire. When the host goes

/149 cont./

*782 out to trade, when he goes east may there be profit and when he goes west may there be profits, with profits from every direction. Thus may the host be completely protected. Again, I invoke protection for these helpers here. Without them these sacrifices to the kuei could not be made. The helpers must be here to enact them. When you have canes do not strike people, when you have ropes do not tie up people. Protect the sorcerer-priest! If I did not perform the ritual here, you would not be able to come here to enjoy /these things/. If my words are not correct, I ask your forgiveness. Pray rid me of disasters and calamities so that when I meet water I may not get wet, when I meet fire I may not get burned. Now, everything has been said."

[292] /150/ At this point the Miao sorcerer wraps a long strip of white cloth around his head with one end trailing on the ground, and continues his incantation:

[765] "The mourning kerchief that I wear is not mourning for my father and mother, not for my maternal uncle /niang chiu/ nor his daughters /tzu-mei, "sisters"/, not for my relatives through marriage, and not for the elders of the village, but for the host. My wearing this mourning does away with all his calamities. The sorcer-priest having worn this mourning, the host's family, men and women, big and small, will not die; moreover there will be no more calamities."

After reciting the above passage he again rings the bell and at the same time continues his incantation:

"Helpers, please raise your knives and chop off the kan lo poles and throw them out into the outer area. I shall collect the paper money, and I want you to burn it. Before burning, it is paper; after burning, it is money. He who gets much shares much; he who gets little shares little.

/150 cont./

*782 The sorcerer-priest again offers wine and meat. Kan lo kuei please eat a lot, once, twice, thrice -- all please eat. After eating, please go home. Hereafter when the host divines by the diagrams or calculates a horoscope, let not the names of kan lo kuei be arrived at again. When the host in the future calculates for other kuei, he must not see the names of kan lo kuei come out again, for he cannot select a day for offering sacrifices to the kan lo kuei. From now on all the omens of the host's dreams shall be auspicious, all dangerous matters will be cut off; ten thousand years of peace and contentment. [ha ji jo ho ho!]

[787] After the Miao sorcerer finishes the incantation, he throws the chiao-tzu on the ground to divine whether the kuei have gone or not. If the yin chiao and the sheng chiao appear, the kuei have already gone, but if the yang chiao appears then the kuei have not yet gone. He must again utter the incantation to send off the kuei, with slight variations this time, such as: "Now, we are sending the kuei back, our thanks to you! On this occasion the wine and meat were not plentiful, which we regret." [787] Then he begins to divine with the chiao again until the yin chiao appears. All the paper money and other paper things are burned, and the sacrifice is over.

(8) Sending Away the Supernatural Force of the Old Trees

*782 824 [776] If a Miao inside the house suddenly hears a strange noise and on opening the door does not see anything, then he thinks that the big trees in front of or behind the house or near the village are acting up. It is the two kuei [naŋ˦ ŋuei˦ tʻoŋ˥ ndu˩] and [naŋ˧ nu˥ tʻoŋ˥ ɬho˥] coming to eat. The sorcerer-priest must be asked to come to expel the supernatural forces of the old trees, in Miao called [ɕi˥ ndu˩]. At night a table is put outside the main entrance. On the table are placed five

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*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the [776] house in Miao is called [ndza˨˩ pəɤ˥˧]. The two kuei invoked are [dei˩˧ ʔəɤ˥˩ noŋ˥˩ dɛ˦] and [dei˩˧ ɬa˥ noŋ˥˩ qa˦˥]. The time is any time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

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*782 sorcer-priest holds the chiao and rings the bell, standing in front
783 of the table, and the words of the incantation he utters are to the
following effect:

> "Now we have prepared well wine, meat, a cock,
> pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, clean water, and ready
> money to cleanse the house. First we invoke the
> [769] ancestors of the host. When you hear my call,
> please hurry down and receive the objects of sacrifice.
> Next we invoke the ancestors of the previous
> tenant. The host, fearing that he may not be at
> peace here, has asked me to come to cleanse the
> house. I have come with many soldiers and
> horses. With water I cleanse the house, first cleanse
> the fire bed, next the fire pit. I cleanse the right
> and the left of the house; I cleanse the front and the
> back doors. After I have cleansed three times, the
> host may live in it with great prosperity, resources
> abundant, prosperous harvests of the five grains, and
> the increase of the six kinds of domestic animals.
> The trouble-making kuei have now been sent out
> the door, hereafter peace will be everlasting."

[787] After the incantation has been completed, he then divines with the chiao. If either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao appears, it is auspicious, and paper is burned to send off the kuei. But if the yin chiao appears, then the incantation has to be said again, until he divines and gets either the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, when it is the end. After the sorcerer-priest has completed his performance, he drinks the wine on the table and takes the cock, meat, pa-pa, tofu, green cloth, and copper yuan offered in sacrifice to the kuei, home with him.

[152/ (10) Cleansing the Cat

[825] The Miao consider that a cat dying in the house is an ill omen, and it is then necessary to ask a sorcerer-priest to purify the house in order to expel harmful emanations. In Miao this is called

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*782 [t[illegible] [illegible] -moŋ]. The kuei sacrificed to are [kueŋ maŋ
783 jeŋ tiaŋ] and [kueŋ maŋ jeŋ ɕiaŋ]. The time is in broad
825 daylight and the place is anywhere in the main house; it is only necessary to face out the door. A table is used on which are
[776] placed five bowls each of wine and meat, placed in two rows. The beeswax is not used. The sorcerer-priest holds the chiao in his right hand and utters words of an incantation, which say in general:

> "The reason for sacrificing to the kuei is because a cat died in the house. Since the cat died in the house, the host dares not sit down in this house to eat food for fear that he may get sick after eating; he dares not live in this house for fear that he will not prosper. Therefore, I request the kuei to come to drive the dead cat away."

[787] After the incantation he divines with the chiao. The yin chiao or the sheng chiao indicates that the kuei of the cat has already gone; if he gets the yang chiao, then the kuei still remains in house. Then the incantation has to be started all over again until the divination shows that the cat kuei is gone, whereupon the paper money may be burned to send off the kuei.

(11) Drinking Blood

*782 When two Miao become involved in a dispute about some
627 matter or wrangle about property, and who is right and who is
[578] wrong is not clear, or if a man meets a false accusation in which he cannot clear himself, then they resort to drinking blood and taking an oath, which in the Miao language is called [ɕiŋ tɕi
[778] ŋtɕeŋ]. For minor matters it is done at the village shrine
[776] for the local divinity of the soil but for important matters it is necessary to go to the T'ien Wang ["Heavenly King temple](1) to drink blood.

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1. See "Sacrifice to T'ien Wang."

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*782 627 to drink blood. They may be treated separately as follows:

A. Drinking at the shrine of the local divinity of the soil.

Drinking blood at the local shrine is also called "drinking [825] chicken blood." During the day or at night they prepare a cock and some paper money. First they kill the cock, and its blood is allowed to drip into wine. This is then carried to the local shrine and offered to the kuei. The names of the kuei are [naŋ˦ nɛ˩ [776] ʑi˥˧ bu˩] and [naŋ˦ ma˩ ʑi˧ teŋ˦]. A Miao sorcerer is asked to utter an incantation to the following effect:

> "This sorcerer-priest has arrived at a forked road and cannot think how to decide. Formerly, without any business I dared not recklessly mention the local kuei's names, but today these two parties are involved in a dispute over land boundaries, each insisting on his version of the case, and not able to reach a settlement. [825] Therefore, we have made /153/ this bowl of chicken blood, and the two sides have come before the kuei to drink blood and take a vow. After the drinking, then a settlement will result."

At this point the parties of the dispute each has a swallow of blood. The sorcer-priest burns paper and continues the incantation:

> "The wrong party after drinking this blood will then die, dying nine times and becoming nine times extinct."

After the incantation, they disperse. The cock is taken by the sorcerer-priest, to whom each side also has to give one or two, three or four, strings of cash. There being no set number.

B. Drinking blood in the T'ien Wang Temple.

Drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple is also called [825] "drinking cat's blood," because it is necessary to stab a cat, and its blood is dripped into wine to drink to make a vow. When drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, one must have a witness, who is called the "blood supervisor." There are many designations for blood drinking, and there are three kinds, drinking one tube of blood, two tubes of blood, and three tubes of blood. Because there are many cases, the number of occasions for drinking blood also are numerous. There is also substitute blood drinking, when the witness or a relative of one of the parties may be allowed

*782 627 /153 cont. /
by the other party to drink blood in place of the principal in order to settle a dispute. There is also all-round blood drinking in which the witness and the disputing parties all drink blood. This generally occurs when the two parties mutually avail themselves of pretexts, and there is no alternative but for the two parties and the witness all to drink blood. Moreover, there are times when the whole family drinks blood. The whole family, father, mother, wife, and children, male and female, big and small, altogether enter the temple to drink blood. In drinking blood, this is the most important. After drinking blood each must take an oath, saying: "If you wrongly accuse me, I shall become very prosperous; if I wrongly accuse you, then I shall nine times die and nine times be cut off." After the blood drinking, there can be no regrets, regardless of whether the issue is important or trivial.

On drinking blood at the T'ien Wang temple, it is necessary to write out the oath /to be burned?/. A blood list is also burned. The blood supervisor is compensated with a sum of 880 cash or at most 8,800 cash, which is called "money for binding words." Three days after the blood drinking one has to kill an animal to make good the vow, which is called "repenting."

[691 695] The Miao are addicted to kuei and to litigation. Sometimes litigation may last a year, and the court, unable to decide the case, may ask both parties to eat blood. This serves as a deterrent. Yen Ju-yü in his Miao Fang-pei Lan says: "Those who enter the temple to drink blood move on their knees and bellies, not daring to look up; those who are in the wrong dare not drink it, but repent and yield." In the course of our investigations in the Miao frontier area, the private secretary of the hsien government at Feng-huang, Mr. Wang Yüeh-yen told us: "The T'ien Wang temple is the Supreme Court of the Miao area. [695] When a Miao is not satisfied with the decision of the hsien government, then he is ordered to go to the T'ien Wang temple to drink blood. Whatever the litigation, big or small, it receives immediate settlement." [692] It can be seen that the Miao's awe of kuei is greater than their awe of the law.

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775 (12) Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering

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[765] When there is a death in the family, for the deceased they perform Releasing the Soul from Suffering and Begging Pardon, which in Miao is called [tsʻa˥ miɑ˧], with the meaning "to cause

[774] a person to be released." There are two kuei sacrificed to: [lio˧ tɑɤ˥ kueŋ˥ dzaɤ˦] and [lio˧ pʻi˦ kueŋ˥ da˦]. The time for the performance is in the evening after supper, and the place in the right corner inside the door in the main house. A bamboo stick about 90 cm. long is used. Every 30 cm. one side of the bamboo is cut off to allow it to be bent into a frame, the two ends of which are stuck into the earth. In front of the bamboo frame is put a rectangular wooden board, on which is spread a piece of white cloth. Five empty bowls are put on the cloth, but before the board are set up five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice arranged in three rows. A bowl of wax is placed behind the board, near which is a handleless spade (Illus. 66). The Miao sorcerer sits behind the bamboo frame, holding a piece of bamboo in his right hand and beating the frame as he utters an incantation in time with the beating to the following effect:

> "After the kuei have led away the dead man, the host will return to having peace. The kuei have come with a steelyard to weigh a human being and take him away. Why /Illus. 66 appears here/ /155/ do you not weigh a pig or a dog, a large cow, a chicken or a duck, instead of weighing a human being? The dead person was in the --- generation (either senior or junior generation) with reference to the host. When a man is dead, he cannot be called back. After death he becomes a kuei. Among men he still has good sons and good grandsons. Today, we have selected a lucky day to make inquiries. At the inquiry tonight you must come to the fire pit. Sorcerers are very few in the world, and so I have been called. I have brought with me the soldiers and horses of my patron saint to this house. The bowl of beeswax, the bamboo frame, five bowls

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775 *782

of wine, the spade, the wooden board, the white cloth, all are ready here. Will the kuei please come to take them! [liɔ˥ tɕɑ˥ kueŋ˥ dʑaɔ˥], [liɔ˥ tɕʻi˦ kueŋ˦ dɑʎ]!"

At this point he stops beating the bamboo frame, takes it away, and sets up the bowls of wine, meat, and cooked rice. The sorcerer-priest makes gestures while uttering an incantation at the same time:

"The helpers have set up the wine, meat, rice, and paper money, and invite the kuei to take them. The dead man has been dead for three days, but when his soul heard the sorcerer-priest's call, then he returned. He returned to his own local area, he returned to his own home. In the world you still have good sons and good grandsons to beg pardon for your sins. The former sins of your

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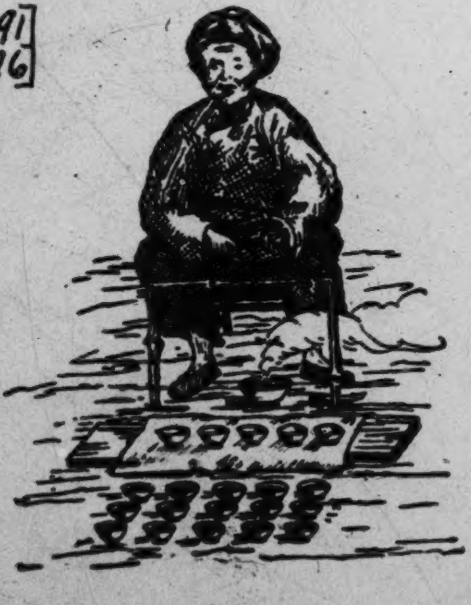

Illus. 66. Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering.

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> 775 *782 life are now all cast away. The sins cannot be cast away in the house, or left to your sons and grandsons, or to the village. All your enmities in the world are also cast away! Guard the host in peace and without troubles."

On finishing the foregoing part of the incantation, the helpers immediately burn the paper money, and the sorcerer-priest continues:

> "Wine, meat, and rice have all been offered to you to consume, paper money has been burned; and we ask you to take and use them! Everything is over; now please turn around and go back."

After this the sorcerer-priest and the host eat the meat and drink the wine together.

(13) The Kuei of the Five Grains

243 *782 [231] [774] Whenever the harvest of the five grains is not abundant, or the six kinds of domestic animals do not increase, the Miao will sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains, in Miao called [liɑ˥˩ noŋ˧˦]. The kuei invoked are called [mp'ɑ˧˦ no˧ kueŋ˥˩ miŋ˦˥] and [ɲi˧˦ no˥ kueŋ˩˥ noŋ˧˦]. The time of the sacrifice is in broad daylight at any time, and the place is in the right corner inside the main house. A table is set up, and on it are spread five bowls each of wine, meat, and cooked rice, arranged in three rows. The wax is also on the table, and the bamboo /156/ tube is placed behind the table. The Miao sorcerer beats the bamboo tube with the right hand and utters an incantation as follows:

> "The host's last year's harvest was not abundant; the five grains formed ears, but produced no grain. Further, they were eaten by locusts. The old year has gone by, the new year has arrived. Now that we have come to the first and second month, an auspicious day has been selected to sacrifice to the kuei. I have been asked to come here, so I

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243 *782

> have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the *chiao*, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the *chiao* in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

> "Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the *chiao*, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The *yang chiao* and the *sheng chiao* are auspicious. The *yin chiao* is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 [946] [755] Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

/156 cont./

(14) Welcoming the Dragon

*782 [556] To seek the prosperity of family finances and status, the Miao make a vow to "welcome the dragon," called [ʑi˦˨ ʐoŋ˨˩] in their language. The time is any time between the ninth and the eleventh months. After the date has been selected, they start the dragon celebration about a month or half a month prior to that date. This is done by the villagers going to the host's house at night beating drums and gongs, blowing trumpets and whistling and shouting, and making a lot of noise until late at night. A [203] [602] few days before "Welcoming the Dragon," messengers must be sent to the family of the wife of the mother's brother/chiu-mu; is this an inversion of mu-chiu, "mother's brother"?/ to convey the tidings. The host personally goes to engage the services of two Miao sorcerers. The relatives /of the same clan/ in the village are also asked to come to help. For this affair they prepare three kinds of mi-pa, the thunder pa, the dragon pa, and the guest pa, and in addition, a rice dragon must be made. The thunder pa is divided into /Illus. 67 appears between pp. 156-57/ /157/ seven piles, each pile being made up of three pa, large, medium size, and small, one on top of the other. They are placed on a table outside the door. Five piles of dragon pa are placed on a table inside the main house. On the dragon pa is placed a rice dragon, on whose body are stuck three peaches made of mi-pa. On the right day Welcoming the Dragon starts after midnight. Early next morning, the host gets ready a tea tray, on which are placed two bowls of wine and two envelopes. He leads the villagers, beating drums and gongs, to the main road to welcome the maternal uncle /mu-chiu/. The host bows three times to the maternal uncle, who takes two bowls of wine from the tea tray and drinks it up, and then with the welcomers goes to the host's house. After the noon meal, the daughters-in-law of the host and the maternal uncle go together to "welcome the dragon." The mistress of the house wears a silver headdress [292] [493] [843] (Illus. 67) and an embroidered garment and skirt, and rides in a sedan chair. The maternal uncle wears a piece of black gauze on

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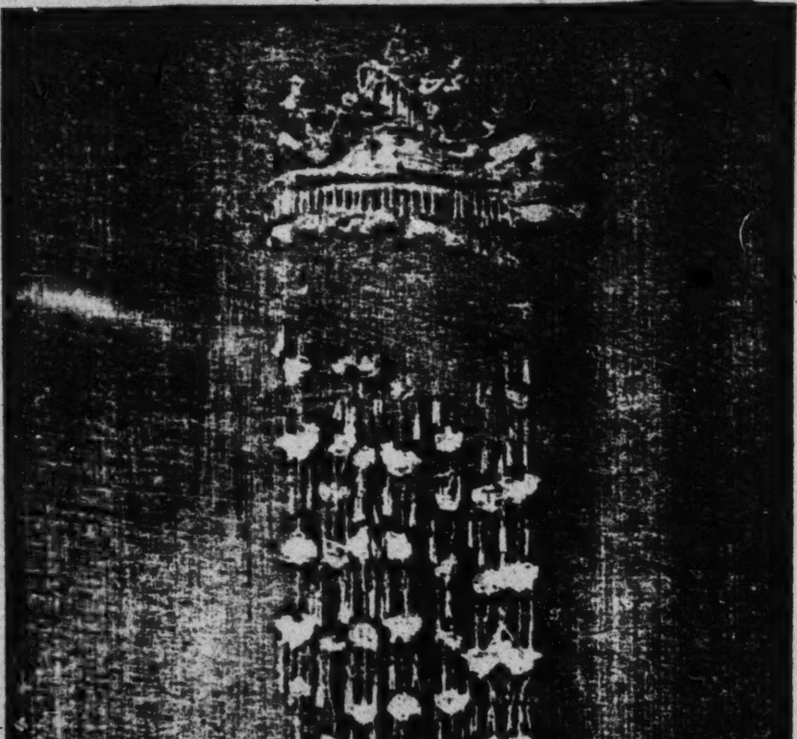


Illus. 67. The silver headdress worn by the mistress of the house in the ceremony of Welcoming the Dragon.

/157 cont./

*782 his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accom-
[292] panying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is
allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical
[843] instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the
procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three
or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for
the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a
great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive out-
side the village, the host and the male members of the family,
each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another
sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers
enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the
maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests
[788] ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums
and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal
uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes.
After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house,
in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone
slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is
called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand
bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family,
men and women, go around the small hole three times, while
music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is
filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber ex-
posed as a distinguishing mark.

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782
777 Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the
Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ʐiɣ˦ ɕio˧ ba˨
731 loŋ˨ ɲie˦]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss,
[774] they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'e˦
tɕu˧ lio˧ tɕo˧] and [ɲi˦ tsu˧ lio˧ ntɕ'i˧]. The time of this cere-
mony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left
pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar.
On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/157 cont./

*782 777 731 of beeswax. The sorcerer-priest burns the wax, rings the hand bell, and utters an incantation, in general saying:

> "Recently the host has run into bad luck, frequently suffering losses. According to calculations, the Black Emperor Earth Lord or /158/ his descendants are seeking food. Therefore, today, I have been asked to offer sacrifice. Please eat the meat and drink the wine. You /plural/ are also promised a large bull. Please give your protection and bring about peace and safety."

[787] After the incantation, divination is performed with the chiao. The yang chiao indicates financial loss but immunity from disaster; the yin chiao means impending disaster without the loss of wealth; and the sheng chiao shows immunity from both. After the divination, paper is burned to send the kuei away.

(16) Handing Over the Ox

If after the sacrifice to the Black Emperor Earth Lord, one's luck is still bad, the only thing to do is to buy an ox and fulfill the vow, which in the Miao language is called [ɲiɔ˧ bu˧ ɲie˩]. Once this ox is offered to the kuei, it cannot be killed, nor can it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death. The performance of this ritual is the same as that for Warming of the Ox Muzzle, except that the text of the incantation uttered by the sorcerer-priest is different, its general purport being:

> "The former vow being ineffective, luck still is bad. The host has saved money to go to market. At the market he looked around and saw a large bull, with big horns and a big body and handsome appearance. The host wanted it, and for a great deal of money he bought it and brought it home. Today has been selected as an auspicious day, and I have been asked to hand over the ox. I beseech the kuei to take it!"

After the incantation paper is burned to send off the Kuei,

/158 cont./
After the incantation paper is burned to send off the kuei.

2. The Guest Religion

(1) The Local Divinity of the Soil

776 In every Miao village there is a shrine for the local divinity
791 of the soil, built of stone slabs and rocks. It is said that during
778 the divinity's lifetime he was good at divination and his disciples
were numerous. When people planned to build houses or shrines,
[787] generally they asked him to select auspicious dates. Spending
his whole life divining for others, it was inevitable that some
of the days he selected turned out to be unlucky days. He tried
to select a lucky day for himself to build his own house, but up
till his death he was unsuccessful. At the time of his death he
was without a house, and he died under the stone slabs. He
*[782] said to the villagers while dying: "When you offer sacrifices
to me, any day will do, except the anniversary of the death
of Duke Yang." People remembered his virtue and felt sorry
that he was without a house. So they built a low house as his
shrine. (Illus. 68). *

*782 /159//Illus. 68 appears here./ The Miao believe that
[776] the local divinity is the shen in charge of wild animals, and by
sacrificing to him they can avoid attacks from wild beasts.
[825] Every year on the second day of the second and eighth months
all the villagers join together in sacrifice to the local divinity.
The offering consists of two cups of wine, a big slice of pork
placed in a bowl, on which they put a little salt, a pair of
chopsticks, and a certain amount of incense and paper--all arranged
on the ground before his shrine. Inside the shrine are
lighted a pair of candles and three sticks of incense. Another
stick of incense is stuck in the ground behind the sorcerer-priest.
Wearing ordinary clothes, and waving a knife in his left hand
[787] and holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, he stands
facing the shrine. He utters an incantation, divines with the

/159 cont./

778

Illus. 68. Shrine of a local divinity of the soil of the Miao.

*782

787 chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the sacrifice. After divining again with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper to send off the shen.

/160/ (2) The Flying Mountain

778 Every Miao village also has a Flying Mountain shrine. This shrine resembles closely that of the local divinity of the soil. On the second day of the second and the eighth months
*782 every year, after having sacrificed to the local divinity of the

/160 cont./

*782 soil, the people have to sacrifice to this shen to seek protection
[776] for all the villagers. It is said that this shen[1] is very malignant
[753] and can cause people to become sick, but when offered sacrifices
[755] it can also bring quick recovery.

Five cups of wine and four piles of money are placed on the ground before the shrine. Inside the shrine three sticks of incense are stuck in an incense burner as well as a pair of candles. Another stick of incense is stuck into the ground behind the priest. Also four strings of money are hung upside down on a slender bamboo pole which is placed crosswise in the shrine. The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes and holds the ritual knife and chiao-tzu, first uttering an incantation
[787] and divining with the chiao-tzu, then pouring the wine and stating the reasons. He also asks the shen to receive the sacrificial things, and then there is a recess. After this, he takes a small winnowing basket, in which are four piles of beef or pork and a bowl of salted pepper soup, and lays it down before the wine cups. The sorcerer-priest then utters an incantation, requesting the shen to come to enjoy the sacrifice. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and the bystanders eat a little of the wine and meat. Then an additional four bowls of cooked rice, each with a pair of chopsticks stuck in, are offered up. The sorcerer again utters an incantation and
[787] performs divination for every family in the village in turn. After this, he burns paper and sends off the shen, and all eat the wine and meat.

(3) Sacrifice to T'ien Wang

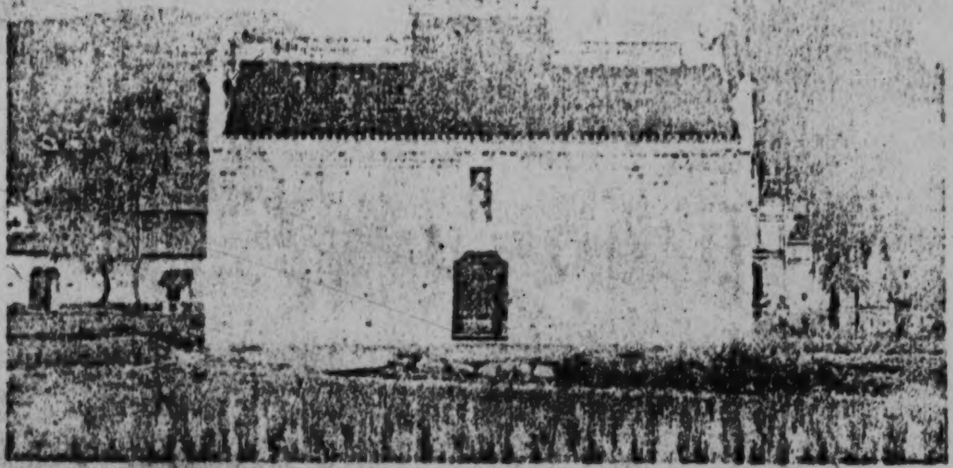
In the Miao area, before the Hsiao-shu period /a solar
*782 period, about July 7-21/, the two days, chen and szu, are
784 days of prohibition when they sacrifice to T'ien Wang /Heaven
[776] King"/, also known as the White Emperor T'ien Wang /i.e., White Emperor Heaven King/. On these days butchering and wine selling, fishing, hunting, mourning, or making merry

[1] [i.e. Shen of the Flying Mountain shrine - ANALYST]

/160 cont./
*782 are all forbidden. After the prohibitions are lifted and the sacrificial
784 beasts presented, normal life may be resumed. The Miao
are very much in awe of this shen. If one has drunk blood and
776 taken an oath in a T'ien Wang temple, one would not dare to
627 repudiate it. There are many T'ien Wang temples in the Miao
778 area, the largest of which is at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng (Illus. 69),
which is regarded by the Miao as holy ground. A Miao village
without a T'ien Wang temple sometimes may request the T'ien
627 Wang to come to the village to decide a case. He may also be
asked to go on an inspection tour, as in Illus. 70, showing the
T'ien Wang of Hsin-chai, Feng-huang, who was asked to go
to another village to decide a case.

Besides the two days of sacrifice to T'ien Wang before
the Hsiao-shu period, the Miao may also write complaints,
secret accusations, etc., and make vows to T'ien Wang at other
731 times in the event of danger, such as the ravages of soldiers and
755 rebels, serious illness, or losing a lawsuit. A table is set up in
691 an empty room, and on it are placed five teacups and a piece
of tile. Chaff and beeswax as well as paper money are burned.
The suppliant kowtows and makes a vow, and invokes the protection
of the shen. In the vow he promises a pig or a goat, or
both, or /Illus. 69 and 70 on pp. 161, 162/ /163/ an ox, depending
upon the seriousness of his problem and his financial
condition. A sorcerer-priest is also asked to come to the house
to make the vow if the purpose is important. The table set at the
691 time of making the vow is not removed until the time the vow is
fulfilled. If the case is won, or the patient recovers, or no distress
731 is caused in time of war, the vow must be fulfilled. The things
755 promised may be increased but not decreased. Even if the results
shown are not as expected, still the vow must be fulfilled,
but in this case the things promised may be reduced.

773 What shen after all is this White Emperor T'ien Wang?
776 Stories vary. According to Miao Fang-pei Lan, Volume 22, there
are three stories. The first was about the three sons of T'ien-chiang
of the Han period; the second was about the three sons of the
Bamboo King; and the third story was about the three brothers of



Illus. 69. T'ien Wang Temple at Ya-ch'i, Kan-ch'eng.

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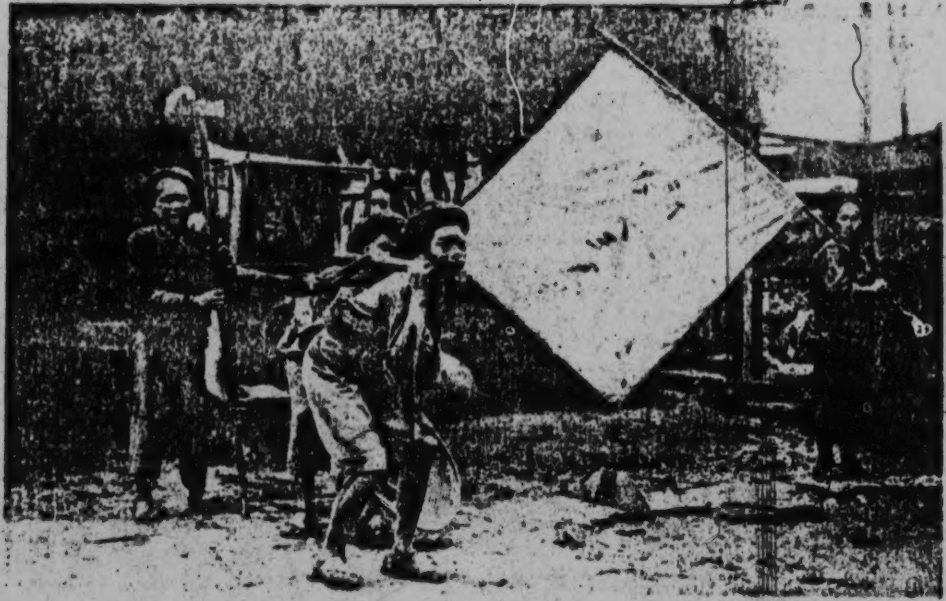

Illus. 70. T'ien Wang going out on a tour.

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/163 cont./

773 776 Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third story is more credible. However, the Yang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

*782 776 [753] [931] [372] [821] When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/163 cont./
*782 the Miao, but its origin cannot be traced.

[779] At the sacrifice a low square table is set up in a vacant
area outside the main entrance, and on it are placed three
bowls each of wine and meat. Each bowl of meat has a pair of
chopsticks on it. Also a bowl of water with salt and pepper
/la-tzu/ in it. Still another bowl has a small quantity of uncooked rice, as horse fodder. Three packs of paper money are
piled up one on the other, with three sticks of incense stuck in
among the paper money. Before the table is a low chair, on
which is a handkerchief.

/164/ The sorcerer-priest wearing everyday clothes and
holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters incantation.
First he recites the invocation, after which he scatters some
rice around. Each time he makes an incantation, some rice is
scattered. After repeating this act three times, he starts
[787] divination with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen has
arrived. If he gets the sheng chiao, then the shen has already
descended. Then he starts an incantation to urge the spirit to
drink wine. Then he states the reason for the invocation, and
prays seeking the protection of the shen. After this he utters the
incantation to send off the shen three times, each time
scattering rice. At the same time the bystanders burn the paper.

(5) The Kung-an Shen

The Kung-an shen, also known as the Shen of the five
[776] wisdoms, gives protection against many things: such as pustules
[751] and ulcers, flood and fire, the six domestic animals not in-
[231] creasing, and the five grains not being fruitful. For all these
[243] they may sacrifice to this shen. But there are many grades of
sacrifice to this shen, the first grade, the third grade, the fifth
[731] grade, the seventh grade, the ninth grade, and the twelfth
grade, which must be performed in rotation. For instance, when
a family offers sacrifice the first time, they offer the first-grade
sacrifice, and if after three or five years it offers a sacrifice, it

/164 cont./

*782 must be the third-grade sacrifice, and a few years later, if they wish to offer a sacrifice, then it is the fifth grade. After sacrificing the twelfth grade, then it starts all over again from the first grade. The number of tables used in the sacrifice is determined by the grade number. For example, the first grade requires one table, and the third grade requires three tables. When there are not enough tables, chairs or stools may be used as substitutes. Only at the twelfth-grade sacrifice must there be three sorcerer-priests present.

The first-grade sacrifice is performed with a table set up outdoors to the east of the house, and on it are placed five stacks of paper money; five bowls of wine; five pieces of tofu, each covered with a vegetable leaf; five piles of mi-pa; and one bowl of water, on which floats a spirit tablet /ling p'ai/. Behind the paper money there is a sheng measure containing rice, on which are placed the seal of the sorcerer-priest and a few coins, and a pair of candles and three sticks of incense stuck in. This is the setting of the upper altar. Under the table is a layer of rice straw, on which there are three bowls of wine, three piles of mi-pa, three stacks of paper money, a piece of tofu, again under a vegetable leaf. There is also a bowl of rice with one candle and one stick of incense stuck in. This is called the lower altar. In addition at the right or left of the table is a chair crosswise, and on it is a winnowing basket which contains a certain number of piles of mi-pa and a certain number of pieces of tofu, also covered with a leaf. Also there is a bowl of rice, in which is inserted a candle and a stick of incense and five stacks of paper money. This is called hsi-k'ung.

For the sacrifice to the Shen of the five wisdoms no animal food should be used. At the time of the sacrifice the host
[785] and the sorcerer-priest must bathe and fast and rinse out the mouth the previous day. When it is time to eat mi-pa they have to
[776] rinse the mouth again. This shen being from the east, the table has to be set up east of the house, and the sorcerer-priest, while performing the ceremony, also faces the east. The sacrifice is divided into two parts. The first part is the setting
[792] up of the altar. With his head wrapped in a red kerchief, and

/165/
*782 holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and standing before the
[292] table, the sorcerer-priest utters the An-shen incantation. On
finishing the incantation he blows the ox horn, and his helpers
beat drums and gongs. The sorcerer-priest changes into red
clothes and dons ceremonial headgear, and makes gestures with
[788] both hands toward the house and toward the open space, doing the
three-step walk with his two feet forming a triangle. After this
performance he takes a rest. The host collects the mi-pa and tofu
from the three places and fries them in camellia oil. After being

Illus. 71. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, A.

/165 cont./

*782 cooked they are put back in their original places.

The second part of the ritual consists of tasting the cooked food. Wearing the red gown, the red kerchief around his head, [292] and the ceremonial headgear, his left shoulder covered with the willow towel and his right hand holding the ox horn, the sorcerer-priest stands before the altar (Illus. 71). First he makes a low bow with hands in front, and when the drums and gongs are sounded, he joins the cacophony by blowing the horn. On finishing blowing, he holds the horn in his left hand and one chiao-tzu in his right, and, rapping on the horn, he utters an incantation to invoke the shen. On completing the incantation, /Illus. 71 appears here/ /166/ he again utters the incantation for invoking the spirit. When finished he dances with the willow [787] towel. Next he divines with the chiao-tzu, at the same time uttering the incantation to the effect that the protection of the shen is sought in everything, and that divination has been done for every member of the family, big or small. Then, the farewell incantation is uttered, and the members of the family burn the paper money. The ceremony comes to an end. The mi-pa and the tofu are eaten. Whatever is left is given to the sorcerer-priest to take home.

The third-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table and the things on the table are identical with those for the first-grade sacrifice. On top of the table is a chair, on which is put a bowl of rice, into which are stuck a candle and a stick of incense, a stack of paper money, a pile of mi-pa, a piece of tofu covered with a vegetable leaf, and a bowl of wine. On the chair is put another small stool, and the items on the stool are exactly the same as those on the chair. Behind the table they use a bamboo pole to make a frame, on which are hung upside down nine strings of paper money. For each grade up three more strings are added. For instance, the fifth grade would call for 15 strings, and the seventh grade, 21 strings, and so on. As for the rest of the setup, the lower altar and the hsi k'ung are the same as for the first-grade sacrifice.

/166 cont./

*782 The ritual for the fifth-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table, a small table, a chair, and a stool, piled up to form an altar. The layout on the lowest, large table is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice, and the layouts on the chair and the stool are the same as those for the third-grade sacrifice. The lower altar and the hsi k'ung are arranged as for the first-grade sacrifice. Behind the altar is a bamboo frame, on which are hung 15 strings of paper money. Also a five-colored paper flag is stuck in the ground next to the table. Eight or nine small, five-colored flags are hung on tree branches near the bamboo frame and the table. There are four parts to this performance:

The first part consists of arranging the altar, and the performance is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice. When it is over, there is a recess, and mi-pa is eaten.

The second part consists of "connecting the streets." The sorcerer-priest wears his red clothing, red headkerchief without the ceremonial headgear, holding the ox horn in his [292] right hand and the ceremonial knife in his left. When gong and drum are sounded, he faces the altar and blows the horn. After [788] this, the horn and the knife in the left and right hands are interchanged, he does the three-step walk, waving and dancing, now facing in, now facing out, at the same time uttering an incantation.

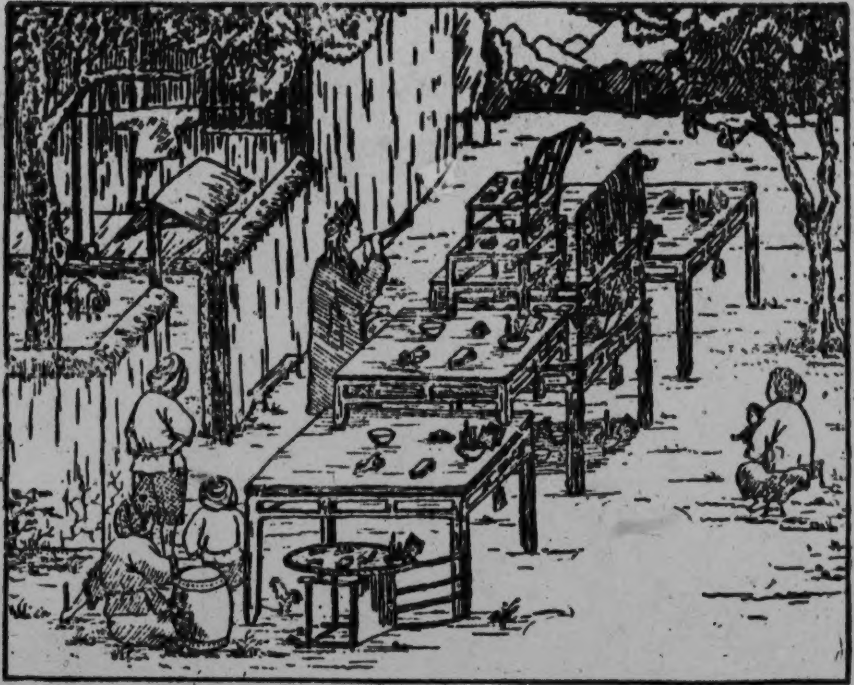
The third part is "making the bridge." The sorcerer-priest wears the same clothes and holds the same ritual articles as in the previous part, except that his left shoulder is covered with a willow towel. When the gong and drum sound, then he blows the horn. After that he interchanges the horn and the knife in his hands, takes the three-step walk, waving and dancing, at the same time uttering an incantation. This performance is done once each in the five directions of east, south, west, north, and center. After this he utters the incantation pledging in wine. The sorcerer-priest then holds the willow towel in his left hand to dance to the music of continuous drumming and beating of gongs, dancing once facing out and twice facing in.

/166 cont./

*782 After dancing a certain number of times this part of the ritual is over.

The fourth part, tasting the cooked food, is done in the same way as for the first-grade sacrifice.

The seventh-grade sacrifice is performed with seven pieces of furniture, tables, chairs, and stools, piled up to form an altar, as in Illus. 72. One of the bottom two tables /Illus. 73 appears on p. 167/ /168/ is arranged like the table for the first-grade sacrifice. The other tables and chairs are arranged like the small tables for the third-grade sacrifice. But the sheng of rice on the lower altar of the seventh table and the hsi k'ung each has a paper spirit tablet stuck up. There are two large flags, one red and one black; there are also 12 small flags, hung up in the same way as in the fifth-grade sacrifice. A cock is also prepared for use after the performance. The ritual is divided into five parts, the first, second, third, and fifth parts being identical to the fourth part of the fifth-grade sacrifice. The addition here is the fourth part of reviewing soldiers. Tasting the cooked food becomes the fifth part. For the ritual of reviewing soldiers, the sorcerer-priest dons his red robe, red kerchief, and ceremonial headgear, and carries a gong in his left hand, a horn in his right. First he blows the horn. Then, putting down the horn, he picks up the hammer of the gong, and as he utters an incantation he beats the [788] gong. With each beat, he bows to the front and the rear. As he stops bowing, he stops beating. After once more uttering an incantation, he faces the altar and beats the gong nine times, followed by alternate reciting and beating. After this reciting the sorcerer-priest holds the willow towel in his left hand, and on it is placed a stack of paper money. Three sticks of incense are lit and stuck on the paper money, which is held fast with the left thumb. A bowl of rice is then placed on the table. When gong and drum are sounded, he picks up the horn with his right hand and gives a blow. Putting down the horn, he picks up the knife; taking the three-step walk, chanting and dancing, and also squatting to bow three times toward the altar. He once more blows the horn and once more he chants, and at the [illegible]



Illus. 72. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, B.

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*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. [231] Picking up the cock held in readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some bystanders' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

[178] As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [550] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[787] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

/169 cont./

(7) The Great Yen-lao Shen

*782 [776] [765] [556] This shen is sacrificed to after the death of a person in a family. It is said this shen may be frightened by the sound of wailing and crying, and they ask him to excuse them, and also protect the family wealth. A square table is set up to the right of the main entrance inside the main house, and on it are placed seven stacks of paper money, in which three sticks of incense are stuck in. On the side is a bowl of chaff, already burnt. There are also seven bowls of wine and seven piles of mi-pa. Behind the table is a bamboo frame, on which seven strings of silver paper ingots are hung. The sorcerer holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands before the table, uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After this he divines with the *[787] chiao-tzu. When it is found that the shen has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the sacrifice. After inviting the spirit to accept the sacrificial objects, the sorcerer-priest takes a little recess. The host then takes out a certain number of pieces of cooked beef and divides them into seven piles on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup and a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck seven pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer-priest then resumes his original position and invites the shen once more to take the offerings. After *[787] divining with the chiao-tzu, he burns paper and utters the incantation to send off the shen.

(8) The Great Yen-t'ang Shen

[765] [776] They sacrifice to this shen for the same reason as that for the Great Yen-lao shen. The ritual is also the same. But the arrangements are marked by the absence of the bamboo frame and the silver paper ingots. The other things such as the paper money, wine, mi-pa, and chopsticks are the same, except that each item numbers five instead of seven and pork is used instead of beef, also in five piles.

-/169 cont./

*782 (9) The Kuei of the High Slope

[731] This shen is very fierce. They sacrifice to him for the
[776] prevention of great dangers, such as litigation and the menace
of bandits. His protection must be sought in advance. The
[691] ritual is performed during the day on a hillside. Oil, salt, a
knife, bowls, a pan, a slicer /ch'an/, and cooking utensils are
brought along. They use seven flags, seven flag spears (made of
bamboo, one end of which is slit in two, one half being bent
into a triangular shape), seven stacks of paper money, one sheng
of uncooked rice, in which is stuck incense and candles, a knife,
seven piles of mi-pa, seven bowls of wine, one bowl of salted
pepper soup, one bowl of chicken meat, and one bowl of cooked
rice, in which chopsticks are inserted. The sorcerer-priest,
wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right
hand, utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After the in-
*[787] cantation, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and if he finds that
the shen has descended, he pours the wine and states the reason
for the sacrifice, and asks him to accept the offerings. A recess
follows. At this point the host kills the chicken, cooks it, and
puts it in a bowl. At the same time he hands up a bowl of cooked
rice /170/ and a bowl of salted pepper soup. Holding the chiao-
tzu, the sorcerer-priest again utters an incantation and divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu to see if the shen has agreed to give protection or
not. After this, he burns the paper and flags and streamers to send
the shen away. When the affair is over the chicken is cut up and
eaten on the spot.

(10) The Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries

[551] The five surnames of the Miao are Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih,
and Ma. It is said that those who die of injuries become evil
[776] kuei. The Miao sacrifice to them to seek protection in case of
[755] sickness or of seeing something strange. They use a winnowing

/170 cont./

*782 basket, in which are placed five bowls of wine, a bowl of meat, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money. On the center pile of mi-pa are stuck three sticks of incense. They also use a figure of a person made of rice straw, which is covered with paper, on which are drawn eyes, nose, and mouth. A flag spear with a small banner is stuck into the back of the straw man. A piece of rope is tied around his neck, and the two ends are fastened to the ground. Suspended on the rope are eight small banners to appear like hands. Three kinds of fancy /flower/ paper are cut into rectangles and wedged tightly with bamboo strips to make five tablets. Both the straw man and the paper tablets are placed against the doorsill, as in Illus. 73. /Illus. 73 appears here./ /171/ The sorcerer-priest wears ordinary clothes, shakes the ritual sword in his left hand, and holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand. Sitting down in front of the winnowing basket, he utters an incantation to invoke the shen, at the same

*[787] time divining with the chiao. When he finds that the spirit has descended, he pours the wine and gives the reason for the occasion. He asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, burns paper, and takes a rest. At this time all the equipment of the sacrifice, including paper and flags, are moved to a vacant place outside the house and laid out once more. They do not use the winnowing basket but use rice straw spread out on the ground. The straw man is propped up with earth or with rocks, and in front of it they spread out rice straw, and set up a pile of mi-pa, in which is stuck a stick of incense, and a bowl of wine. The straw man must face the sorcerer-priest, and the sorcerer-priest must face the west. The same ritual as performed inside the house is repeated, except that the sorcerer-priest squats instead of sitting in a chair. On termination of the ritual, no paper money is burned, and the sorcerer-priest takes a rest. The host then cooks a certain amount of meat, which is cut into small lumps. These are carried to the scene and divided into five piles on rice straw, together with a bowl of cooked rice, with five pairs of chopsticks inserted in it. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup. In front of the straw man is also placed a bowl of cooked rice, a pile

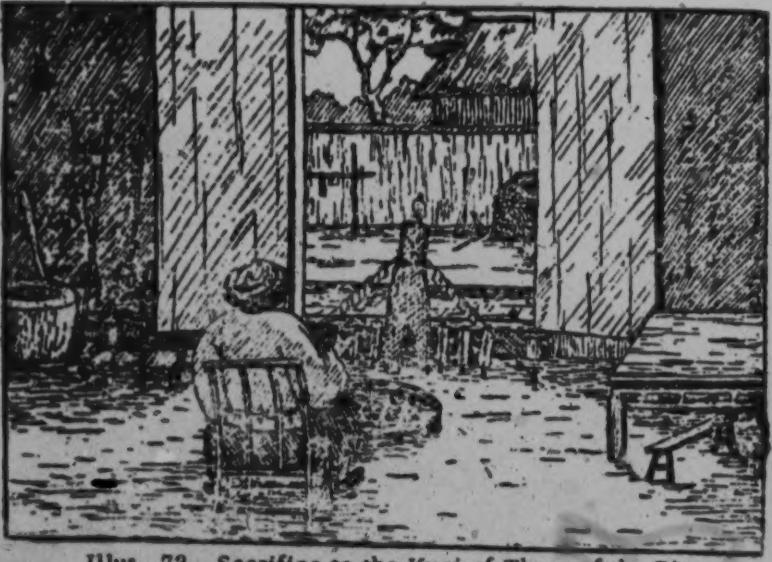
/171 cont./

*782 of meat, and a bowl of salted pepper soup. The sorcerer-priest
once more squats at his original place, utters an incantation,
*[787] divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send the shen
away.

(11) The Kuei of Deceit

[691] When a Miao is involved in a litigation, he will wish to
[776] cause the kuei of deceit to go to confuse the opposite party, and so he sacrifices to this kuei. A winnowing basket is laid down to the right of the main door inside the main house. In it are put five piles of mi-pa, each made up of three pieces, and into the middle pile are stuck three sticks of incense. There are also five bowls of wine and five stacks of paper money in the tray. Outside the tray a bowl of chaff burns. The sorcerer wears ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand, and sits down facing the

[353]
[352]



Illus. 73. Sacrifice to the Kuei of Those of the Five Surnames Who Died of Injuries.

*[787] winnowing basket. He utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the performance. He

/171 cont./
*782 once more divines with the chiao-tzu, and if the shen has con-
*[787] sented to offer protection, the paper is burned to send him away.

(12) Expelling the Five Kuei

[755] When the Miao seek for speedy recovery from an illness,
[776] or when they run up against trouble from kuei and seek to make
them go away quickly, then they sacrifice to the "Five Kuei."
The Five Kuei are evil kuei, consequently the ritual is called
Expelling the Five Kuei. It is performed in the daytime by
means of a winnowing basket placed to the right of the main door
inside the main house. In the basket are put five piles of mi-pa,
five bowls of wine, a piece of tao-t'ou /jack beans? /, a bowl of
water, several coins, and five stacks of paper money. There is
also a sheng container of uncooked rice, in which are stuck three
sticks of incense. Five eggs, each with eyes, nose, and mouth
painted on, are also placed in the sheng. A cock is also placed
in the basket. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes,
holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and shaking the ritual
knife with his left, sits opposite the winnowing basket. He utters
*782 the incantation to invoke the shen, and at the same time divines
*787 with the chiao-tzu to find out whether the shen have descended.
If so, he pours the wine and states the reason for the occasion.
/172/ After further divination he threads a string through the
nose of the cock and asks a helper to walk around the house once
with the cock. At the same time he recites an incantation to
expel the kuei. Then he divines again, and if he finds that the
kuei are gone, he asks the helper to come with him, leading the
cock and carrying the winnowing basket, to an intersection
where three roads meet in the open. There he burns the paper
*782 to send the kuei away. After the performance is over the
sorcerer-priest puts the cock, eggs, and mi-pa into a cloth bag
that he has brought along.| He either returns home or goes to
the host's house to eat a meal. But his bag has to be hung
outside the house and not taken inside the host's house. The

/172 cont./

* 782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[759] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mis-
[578] chief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to
[776] come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one in-
advertently walks into a house where this performance is going
on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a
[171] performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs
into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore,
[574] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he
[609] does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it
all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all
right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to
get permission from the master of the house, but that he is afraid
of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to
spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*[787] voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
[578] the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

[821]
[774]
[755]

(16) The Wind Kuei

If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better, it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

/173 cont./
*782 place on a mountain slope at an intersection of paths where
755 there is wind. For this ritual the articles required are a cock,
a sheng of uncooked rice on which some coins are placed and
three sticks of incense, stuck in, a bowl of tao-t'ou /jack beans?/
on which there is a little salt and a pair of chopsticks, five cups
of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and five stacks of paper money.
Except for the cock, all articles are in a winnowing basket. A
knife and a pot also have to be brought up there beforehand. The
sorcerer-priest waving the ritual knife in his left hand and holding
the chiao-tzu in his right, utters an incantation, divines with
*[787] the chiao-tzu, pours the wine, and states the reason for the
sacrifice. The helper kills the chicken, cooks it, fills the bowl
with the meat, and puts it in the winnowing basket. At the
same time he puts out a bowl of cooked rice, in which are stuck
five pairs of chopsticks. The sorcerer utters an incantation and
burns paper to send off the shen. He and the helper eat the items
offered in sacrifice right there.

(17) The Tea Shen

[776] For eye trouble the Miao seek a cure by sacrificing to the
tea shen. There are three kinds of sacrifice according to the
time at which it takes place. If it takes place in the early
morning, it is called the Early Tea Shen. At noon it is called the
Day Tea Shen. At night it is called the Night Tea Shen. At the
time of sacrifice one must not laugh, because it is said that this
[776] shen is shy. It is also said that he wears tattered old clothes. If
[827] anyone laughs /174/ he will not come. Therefore, if it takes
place in the daytime outside the house, the winnowing basket
must be enclosed by a bamboo screen. Except for the helper, no
outsider is allowed to watch. When the performance takes place
at night inside the house, all lights must be extinguished.

For the ritual for the Early Tea Shen a thin stick of wood, burnt at one end to be a stick of incense, is stuck in the ground. A winnowing basket is also used, and in it are placed five bowls of

/174 cont./

*782 tea, five piles of mi-pa, five stacks of paper money. The
755 sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding a ritual knife and a chiao-tzu, squats in front of the winnowing basket.
*[787] He utters an incantation and divines with the chiao-tzu, sips the tea, and states the reason. When the divination indicates that the shen can cure the ailment, then he again takes a cup of tea and utters an incantation into the cup, and rubs the tea on the eyes of the patient. After this the host and his friends and relatives in the village come to the house, and after they are assembled, the sorcerer-priest burns the paper to send off the shen.

The ritual for the Day Tea Shen is the same as that for the Early Tea Shen. That for the Night Tea Shen is also the same, except that it is held inside the house and that when all arrangements are in order and the sorcerer-priest is ready to perform the lights are extinguished.

(18) Offering Thanks to the Earth

*782 A Miao family which has held a Welcoming the Dragon
556 ceremony has dug a "dragon chamber" in the center of the main
[776] house (see "Welcoming the Dragon"), which is the place where the dragon shen is. Offering Thanks to the Earth is also called "Comforting the Dragon," to make the dragon shen happy in his chamber, thus bringing prosperity to the household. Therefore in Offering Thanks to the Earth the dragon chamber becomes the center of activities.
*782 They draw the eight diagrams outside it with powdered lime. In the middle of the diagrams are written the two characters chung-ying /"the center"/. Outside the diagrams is drawn a circle. Outside the circle are drawn five bows with arrow and the four characters chiu kung pa kua /"nine palaces, and eight diagrams"/. Twenty-three bowls are used: eleven bowls of wine; five bowls of uncooked rice, with a stick of incense and a candle inserted in each: five bowls of mi-pa; one bowl of tofu; and one bowl of tao-t'ou with a pair of chopsticks placed on it. There are also ten stacks of paper money, laid on each diagram within the circle and one

/174 cont./

*782 each on the characters chiu-kung and pa-kua. There are six petition boxes, one being laid on the bow and arrow in each of the four directions, and two on the bow and arrow in the center.

Again, a winnowing basket is placed inside the circle. In it are spread grain, on which are placed five cups of wine and five piles of mi-pa. There is also a lamp bowl filled with camellia oil, with five grass wicks lit to make five flames. Also there are five sticks of incense stuck up, within which are three paper horses of three sizes, large, medium, and small, placed one upon the other. Two sticks of incense are in front and three sticks are behind, wedging in the paper horses. There are also a piece of cinnabar and five additional sticks of lighted incense, stuck in five different places.

On the bow nearest to the large door of the main house is placed a square table, on which are five bowls of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a sheng of uncooked rice, in which are stuck a pair of candles, three sticks of incense, a few coins, and the seal of the sorcerer-priest. At the front of the table /175/ is also the sorcerer-priest's text for the special incantation to pacify the dragon shen, as well as a bowl of clear water.

[242] The sorcerer-priest wears a green or blue long gown and a Taoist cap, and, holding a pair of chiao-tzu in his right hand and facing the shen, he first utters the incantation to pacify the shen. On finishing the incantation he beats the cymbal while his helper strikes the gong and small cymbals. Then the sorcerer-priest recites the text to invoke the shen, interspersed from time to time with the beating of the gong and the cymbals. After this
*787 he divines with the chiao-tzu. If the divination indicates that
*792 the shen has descended, he pours tea (the first time, tea and afterwards, wine). Then he states the case, and also requests the shen to accept the offerings, and then divines with the chiao-tzu for everyone in the family. Then he divines to ask how much strength the dragon shen has. The method of calculation by points is as follows: The sheng chiao indicates three, six, and nine; the yang chiao, two, five, and eight; and the yin chiao, one, four, and seven. After doing the divination with the chiao,

/175 cont./
*782 he examines which chiao it is. If it is sheng chiao, then he begins his inquiries from nine and again performs the divination.
*787 If he gets sheng chiao again, then the strength of the shen is nine points. If he does not get sheng chiao, then the sorcerer-priest announces a number between five or seven and fifteen; it has to be an odd number. When he divines again and still fails to get sheng chiao, then he has to keep on naming numbers and divining.
*782 After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen, also interspersed with the sound of cymbal and gong. Afterwards he empties the bowl of tea, and changes to pouring wine. Continuing his incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up a bamboo bow and five arrows. He chants toward the east and shoots an arrow to the dragon shen of the east, and his helper burns the eastern petition box. Thus, one by one the performance is repeated for each direction, and finally the center petition box is burned. After the burning, the sorcerer-priest picks up the paper horses and utters an incantation to them. The large horse is cut into five lengths and pasted on the wall corners in the four directions and the middle. The next largest horse is hung on the beam, and the smallest horse is pasted in the center. The piece of cinnabar is placed in a cup and ground with a little wine. The earth covering the dragon chamber is removed as well as the slate, and into the chamber is poured the cinnabar wine, and then it is covered up as before. Paper is burned on it, more incantations are said, and all the paper money is gathered up and burned to send off the shen.

(19) Offering Thanks to Graves

[171] The Miao custom of offering thanks to graves is different from the Chinese custom of sweeping the tombs of ancestors. The reason for the former is similar to offering thanks to the earth. The ritual also is similar on the whole, except that it takes place on the grave. The top of the grave serves as the center. The circle and eight diagrams are not drawn with white lime, and no winnowing basket is used. Only 17 bowls are used,

/175 cont./

*782 which are six bowls of wine less than for the ceremony of offering thanks to the earth. There is one more petition box, making seven boxes in all. The rest of the articles on the table are similar, except that the cinnabar is placed on top of the uncooked rice in the sheng. The ritual also is the same as for offering thanks to the earth, but no tea is poured and no bow and arrow are used. At the time of sending off the shen, the petition boxes are burned where they are. No shen numbers are used. When the cinnabar wine is ground it is buried on the top of the grave by /176/ piercing a small hole with a stick, after which the wine is poured down, and then it is covered with earth, and paper burned on it.

(20) Lu Pan

[776] [755] Lu Pan is the coffin shen, to whom sacrifices are offered in case of sickness or of seeing something strange. It is performed during the daytime at the right side of the main entrance. A winnowing basket is used, containing five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of meat with a sprinkling of salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. There is also a sheng of uncooked rice, on which there are a few coins and three sticks of incense stuck in. There are also five stacks of paper money and a bowl of water. They also use a cock with its wings and legs bound and a string through its nose, tethered to an axe. The axe and a saw are put against the doorsill. A piece of wood about 30 cm. long and 10 cm. wide is used as a small coffin, on which is placed a thin round stick as the carrying pole for the coffin. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the ritual sword and the chiao-tzu, utters the incantation to *[787] invoke the shen. He then divines with the chiao-tzu to see whether the shen has descended. He pours the wine and states the reason for the invocation, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings. He divines again, entreating the shen to protect

/176 cont./

*782 *[787] the whole family. The helper then unties the cock's feet and leading it, /Illus. 74 appears here/ /177/ sorcerer-priest following, walks around the whole house, as in Illus. 74.[1] Then neighbors and relatives are invited to the house. After burning paper, the relatives and friends depart, and the helper carries all items to the crossroads, where the little coffin is burned with the paper money. The offerings are taken home by the sorcerer-priest. The utensils must be thoroughly washed before being taken into the house of the host.

(21) Lo Kung

[755] [776] The Miao sacrifice to Lo Kung because of sickness or because of having seen strange things. The ceremony is performed inside the main door during the daytime, when a square table is used, on which are laid five cups of wine; five piles of mi-pa, in the middle pile of which are inserted three sticks of incense; five stacks of paper money, and a bowl of burning chaff. The sorcerer-priest, wearing everyday clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand, utters and incantation. *[787] After he has divined with the chiao-tzu to invoke the shen, stated the reason, and also asks the shen to accept the offerings, he takes a rest. The host then cooks the beef, cuts it up to make five piles, and puts it on the table. He also puts out a bowl of salted pepper soup. After the sorcerer-priest has again finished an incantation, he sits down with the host to eat the food on the table, and again takes a rest. The host adds five more bowls of beef together with five bowls of cooked rice, each having a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. *[787] The sorcerer again utters an incantation, divines with the chiao-tzu, and burns the paper to send off the shen.

[1] [see category 116, p265- ANALYST]

/177 cont./

(22) Putting up an Earth Bridge

*782
842 If after a childless Miao has made a vow to the shen for a son, and still a child is not born, then the ceremony of Putting up an Earth Bridge is performed in order to make a bridge down to earth for the son in heaven, so that he can descend.

[785] The host selects an auspicious day and regulates his thoughts, fasts, and bathes. Before the date he prepares a stone slab about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. wide, and 5 cm. thick. Four perpendicular lines are chiseled on the slab, dividing it into five sections. He also uses five branches of a fruit-bearing tree, the size of each branch being equal to that of one section on the stone slab. On the principal day the stone slab and the tree branches are buried inside the door near the middle of the threshhold. A square table is used, on which are placed five stacks of paper money, a sheng of uncooked rice in which are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles, five piles of mi-pa, a bowl of cooked tofu, and five cups of wine. There are also a

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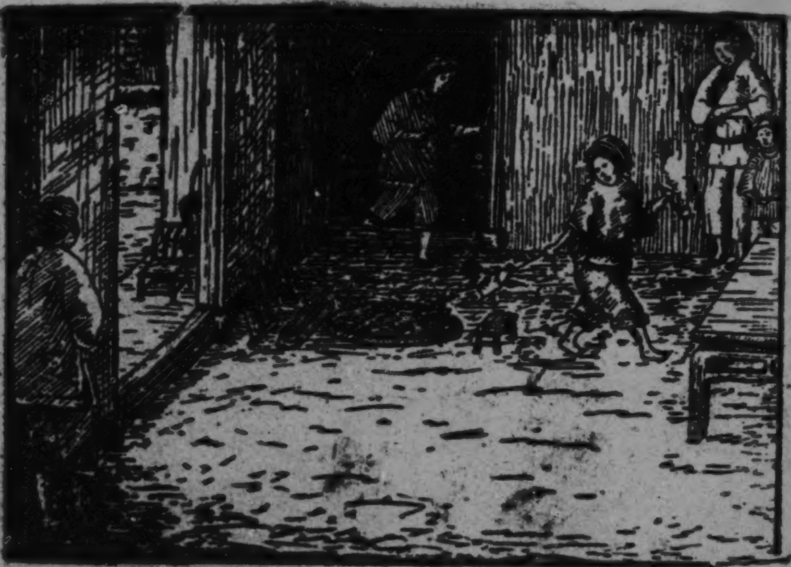

Illus. 74. Sacrifice to Lu Pan.

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*782 /177 cont./
few coins inside the sheng of rice. The sorcerer-priest in plain
842 clothes and holding the ritual knife and chiao-tzu utters an in-
*[787] cantation and divines, pours the wine and states the reason. After having divined again for when a son is to be born, he burns the paper to send off the shen. After the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, he next performs the Nuan No.

(23) Nuan No

[776] /178/ When the No shen /a god who drives away pestilence/ has been offended, (for details see "Huan No Yüan") if the time for Huan No Yüan is still far away, then they must do this. Also every ninth day of the ninth lunar month is the day when the No shen comes down, and the third day of the third month is the day when this shen goes up to heaven, and some people hold the same ritual on either one of these two dates. Also the ritual of Putting Up an Earth Bridge has to be followed by the performance of Nuan No. It is held during the daytime, with a square table placed in the back half of the main house. On the table are set five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, and a sheng of rice on which there are some coins, incense, and candles. There are also two stacks of paper money, a bowl of meat with a little salt on it and a pair of chopsticks balancing on it. The sorcerer-priest wears plain clothes and a red head kerchief, and, holding the ritual knife and the chiao-tzu, he utters the same incantation as that for Putting Up an Earth Bridge. After he has finished he burns the paper to send off the shen.

(24) Huan No Yüan

175 Huan No Yuan /"fulfilling the No vow"/ is fulfilling a
*782 vow to the No shen. The origin of No is very ancient. The
"Hsiang Tang" chapter of the Lun Yü says: "When the villagers
776 drove away the demons of pestilence /no/, they dressed in formal
robes and stood on the eastern steps." After the Ch'in and Han

/178 cont./
175 dynasties, the records contain many references to it. The
*782 ancient meaning of No was to drive away the kuei of pestilence.
In the Lun Yü I Su, Liang Huang-k'an says: "The no-no sound is
776 uttered to fight the kuei of pestilence." In the Chou Li and the
"Yüeh Ling" section of the Li Chi, no is written with the character
nan /'difficult'/, while Chiao Te-hsing used the character yang
/'to drive out demons'/. They must be the same word. (1)

[113] 1. See Chiang Liang-fu: No K'ao
/The Study of No/, in Min Tsu,
Vol. 2, No. 10.

Cheng Hsüan makes the commentary: "Yang is a powerful kuei."
Liu Pao-nan in his Lun yü Cheng I says: "The powerful kuei are
the kuei of pestilence.... When we refer to the kueis' name, we
say yang; when we speak of driving these kuei away, then we say
no. Afterward the name of the kuei was used for the name of the
sacrifice." Today, however, when the Miao fulfill a vow to the
776 No shen, it is something quite different. They consider the
*782 brother and sister in the story of the Flood (see the chapter, "Folk
Tales," /not translated/) to be the No shen, calling them Duke
[779] No and Mother No. When the members of a family have trouble,
such as the six domestic animals not increasing, the five grains
not being fruitful, financial misfortune, the prevalence of pestilence, and other calamities, quarrels, and seeing extraordinary
*[787] phenomena, if the sorcerer-priest finds through divination that the
trouble is due to the No shen having been offended, it becomes
necessary to promise to fulfill a vow to the No shen. Moreover,
[842] a family without children wishing to seek a child must seek to
fulfill a vow to the No shen;[1] and if a family at the end of the
year has lived contentedly without any trouble, it also considers
this a gift of the No shen, and must make a vow to the No and
fulfill it.

*782 The time for fulfilling vows to the No is between the ninth
day of the ninth lunar month and the end of the lunar year, which
may be said to be the season for fulfilling vows. It may also take

[1] [for this ritual see cat. 116, pp 277-280. - ANALYST]

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*782 place in the spring, when it is colloquially called a "peach blossom vow," but this is rare. /Illus. 75 appears between pp. 178-79./

/179/ To carry out the fulfilling of a vow to the No, it is necessary to invite a guest sorcerer. Relatives and fellow-villagers are also invited to come to the house. Before the date an altar is set up in the center of the main house, and on it are displayed the images of Duke No and Mother No (see Illus. 75). Behind the altar are pasted five colored portraits of the shen of the five sacred mountains. In front of the altar is a portal made of colored paper, called T'ao Yüan /"peach spring," i.e. Arcadia, from a Chinese legend/ cave. In front of the portal they also put up a hsi-kung. (1) The performance of the sorcerer,

1. See the layout for the first-grade sacrifice to the Kung-An shen.

according to the investigation of the writers, consists of 30 parts, lasting from three to seven days. The following are brief accounts of each of these parts.

The first part is An Szu Ming "calming the god of the kitchen." It is performed at dawn. The sorcerer-priest wears a red kerchief around his head and holds a chiao-tzu. Standing in front of a winnowing basket set in front of the Peach Spring cave, he makes a low bow to the No shen with his hands in front, and utters an incantation to ask his patron saint to possess his
*[787] body and to ask the ancestors of the host's family to come down. On finishing his incantation, he picks up a bowl of water with his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with his right hand, as if writing, facing the bowl of water. At the same time he also utters the incantation for cleansing the
[783] sacrificial objects. First he speaks of the origin of water; next he flicks some drops of water on the offerings with his fingers.
[776] The Miao think that the Szu Ming shen abstains from meat, wine, garlic, etc., and therefore the things have to be cleansed.
*[787] After the cleansing, he divines with the chiao-tzu, and stops if

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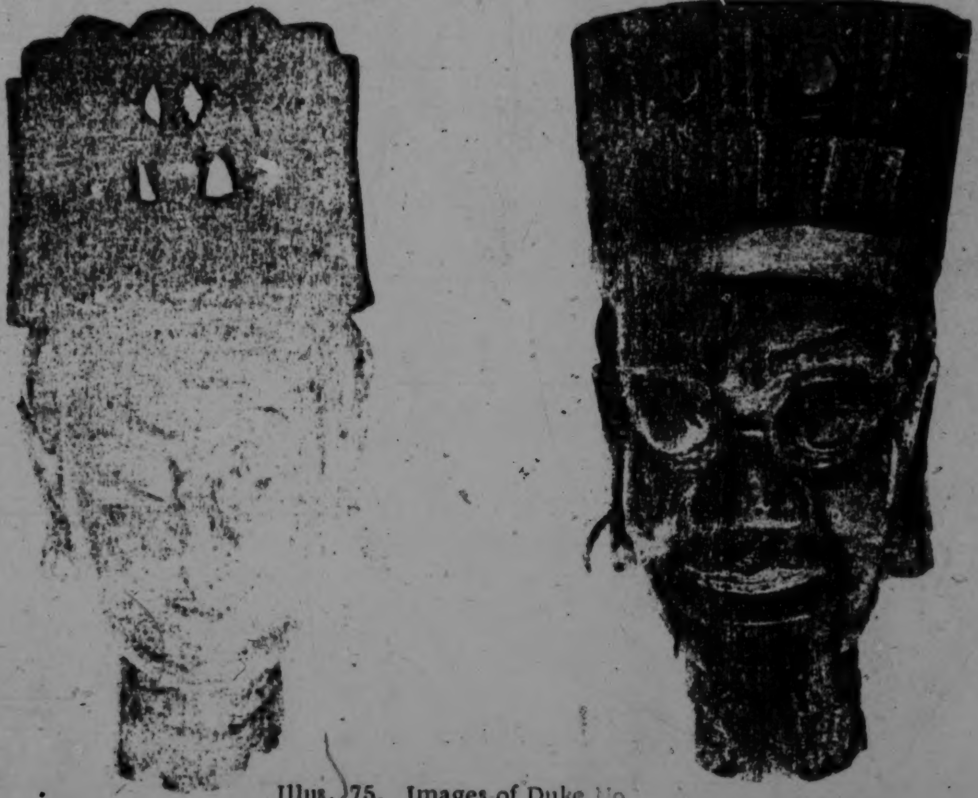
776
*782

2: Ling & Ruey--269 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5



Illus. 75. Images of Duke No and Mother No.

/179 cont./

*782 he gets the sheng chiao. Otherwise, the incantation and the *787 divination are repeated. After cleansing the objects of the sacrifice, the sorcerer-priest then utters the incantation to invite the shen, and when the sheng chiao appears, the shen are considered to have come down. Then he gives the reason for the sacrifice of fulfilling the vow to the No, and asks the shen to accept the offerings. When the sheng chiao again appears, it is considered that the shen have accepted the offerings. Then for the whole family, big and small, one by one, he asks the protection of the shen, and one by one he divines to get the sheng chiao. Then he asks for protection for the six kinds of domestic animals and the five grains, and also asks for good fortune. When all the requests for protection have been made, he then requests the expulsion of pestilence: the pestilence of the sky, of the earth, the year, month, day, and hour, as well as devils and small kuei, also the expulsion of apparitions of the sky, the earth, the year, the month, the day, and the hour, and all other kinds of apparitions. For all it is necessary to get the yin chiao or the sheng chiao. If he gets the yang chiao, it is considered that the apparitions still have not yet gone, and the expelling and divination must continue. Finally, he requests the shen to release the soul and to pass judgment on the divination. Then he requests the shen to accept the animal offered.

The second part is the sacrifice to the gong and the drum. The sorcerer-priest wearing a red turban and a long gown [292] and holding chiao-tzu in his right hand, stands before the Peach Spring cave and utters incantatory words (about the same as those for An Szu Ming). Having recited a passage he lifts a bowl of water with his left hand and makes his patron saint's esoteric gestures with his right hand, as if writing over the bowl of water. At the same time he continues the incantation, and raises the bowl of water three times over the smoke of the incense. When the incantation is over, he divines with the chiao, and after he gets the yin or the sheng chiao, he picks up a horse whip and tramples on it with the toes of his right foot,

/179 cont./

*782 and utters the incantation for gathering up the evil kuei. When
*787 the incantation is over, he divines. After the sheng or yin chiao
is obtained, he hangs up the whip. He takes the ritual knife with
his right hand and dips the point in the bowl of water, then raises
it up and, swinging right and left, continues the incantation.
After he has recited /180/ a passage, the helper beats the gong
and the drum, and the sorcerer-priest, holding a wooden bell with
both hands, worships the shen to the accompaniment of the beating of the gong and drum for about 15 minutes. When the worship
is over, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu and utters the
incantation to invoke the shen, first facing the Peach Spring cave,
later turning to face out the door, then again turning to the cave.
After he has finished invoking the shen, he divines with the chiao,
and when the sheng chiao is obtained, this part ends.

*782 The third part is An T'u Ti /"calming the local divinity
of the soil"/. Wearing ordinary clothes and standing before the
hsi kung, the sorcerer-priest makes a low bow with hands in front,
and utters an incantation. First he invokes the shen; then he
offers the sacrifices, burns the paper money, and asks the shen
to accept these things.

The fourth part is Pu T'an /"displaying the altar"/.
[292] The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief,
ceremonial headgear, and a willow towel on his shoulder. He
stands before the Peach Spring cave, gesticulating and beating
the gong and the drum at the same time. After this act the
[788] sorcerer-priest leads the host to the shen to make a low bow
with both hands in front and to kowtow. Following this ceremony the sorcerer-priest, holding a horn in his left hand and the
chiao-tzu in his right, and rapping the former with the latter,
utters the incantations to invoke the shen. After having recited
a passage, he pulls off the towel with his left hand and begins
to shake the ritual knife with his right hand; he ceases beating
the gong and the drum, but utters the incantation for pledging
in wine. After this, he takes out the previously prepared written
prayers from the four prayer boxes and, bowing the knee before the shen, he leads the host to kneel and make obeisance,

/180 cont./

*782 and reads the petition. After this, amidst the sound of gong and drum, he gives one long blast of the horn. The host then gets up and stands at the side. Holding the prayer box in the left hand and shaking the ritual knife in his right hand, the sorcerer-
[788] priest takes the three-step walk toward the Peach Spring cave, uttering the incantation to present money. After a passage has been recited, he hangs the ritual knife on his right wrist and gesticulates with his finger as if writing characters on the prayer box. Then he continues his incantation, blowing on the horn at the same time. After two blows, holding the whip in his right hand, he stands up, and first facing inward, he strikes the ground once with the whip, then facing outward, he strikes the ground twice. Turning once more inward, he again strikes the ground, and also blows the horn. Then he utters another incantation passage. Then he turns, facing out the door, and puts the prayer box on a small table and blows the horn once more. When the incantation is finished, he raps the horn with the knife and utters an incantation invoking the meritorious spirits. After the incantation,
*[787] he divines, and, when the *sheng* or the *yang chiao* is obtained, he shakes the ritual knife several times, facing the man /men?/ beating the drum and gong, ordering him to stop, and then utters an invocation pledging in wine to the meritorious shen. After pledging with wine three times ~~and pouring it three times~~, he asks the shen to accept the items on sacrifice. When he divines and the
*[787] *sheng chiao* appears, he knows that the shen have accepted the articles, and then he burns the four prayer boxes and removes the items on sacrifice. He puts the ritual knife and the whip on the
[823] ground, utters an incantation, and following the eight directions in sequence, east, west, south, north, northeast, southwest, northwest, and southeast, he takes the three-step walk, to make a square, and stamps once on the ground with his feet. After he has gone past the eight directions, he turns to the right of the Peach Spring cave and utters the incantation to invoke the shen and the ancestral spirits of the host. After the incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up the whip and the ritual knife he had put on the ground and takes the *chiao-tzu* and the spirit tablets,

/180 cont./

*782 and recites the names of the shen. After he has finished, he
*787 once more lays all the articles on the ground, and begins to divine for the luck of the host's whole family. After the sheng chiao is obtained he puts back the articles in their original places. /181/ The sorcerer-priest then picks up the tablets with his right hand, holds the horn in his left hand, and walks to the doorsill. Putting his left foot on the doorsill, he first blows the horn and then slaps the door three times with the tablets. The beating of the gong and the drum ceases, and he utters the fa-ling /literally, "give the order"/ incantation. After this, the beating of the gong and the drum is resumed, and the sorcerer-priest blows his horn, standing facing the Peach Spring cave. Holding the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves a little at the drum and gong-beater to stop, and utters an incantation inviting the shen to mount the altar.

The fifth part is Chieh Chieh /"connecting (or making welcome) the streets/, and is divided into three sections. The first section is Chin-chou Street. The sorcerer-priest wears a
292 red kerchief around his head and a red garment. First, holding the horn in his right hand, he blows it once, and then changing it over to his left hand, he waves the ritual knife with his right hand. He takes the three-step walk in ffont of the Peach Spring cave and recites the Chieh Chieh /"connecting the streets"/ in-
823 cantations. It is divided into incantations for the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. When he utters the incantation for the east, he faces the inside of the house. For the south and the west he faces outside. For the north he faces inside again, and for the center, outside again. Each time he finishes reciting, he must blow his horn and circle around twice.

The second section is Wu-lui Street /"the street of five thunders"/. The costume of the sorcerer-priest and his ritual implements, as well as the ritual, are the same as those for the first section. The incantations except for a few phrases are also the same.

The third section is Lo-wang Street. The costume of the sorcerer-priest is the same as above. He holds the whip in his left hand and shakes the ritual knife with his right hand, takes

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*782 the three-step walk in front of the Peach Spring cave, and utters an incantation. Having recited a passage, he strikes the ground once with the whip, and then begins the incantations for the five directions. Each time he makes an incantation for a direction, he circles twice as in the first section. After the incantations, he stops the beating of the gong and drum, and, facing the Peach Spring cave, he loudly utters the incantation for building a city as well as for inviting the shen to take their seats. Then this section terminates.

The sixth part of the ritual is Tso Ch'iao /"building the bridge"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment and a red [292] headkerchief, and has the willow towel on his back. First holding the horn in his right hand, he blows it once, then changing it over to his left hand, he waves the ritual knife with his right hand, takes the three-step walk before the Peach Spring cave, and utters Tso Ch'iao incantation. Having recited one passage, he hangs the knife on his right wrist, and with the lower arm slightly lifted, he gestures and does the three-step walk, and continues the incantation, for the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, the ritual being the same as for Chieh Chieh. After this is over, he holds the willow towel in his hand, stretches slightly forward, and waves his knife to the right, left, and downward, once in each direction. Still stretching forward, he leans his knife against the willow towel and utters the incantation for pledging in wine. After one passage has been recited, he waves the knife and the willow towel once to the right, to the left, and downward, and continues the incantation. This ritual is repeated three times. Afterward he pledges the image of Duke No and Mother No with wine, then he pledges with the wine facing outside, then facing the ancestors of the family, and the upper altar and the lower altar. After the incantation for pledging in wine is ended, the beating of gong and drum is resumed. The sorcerer-priest also blows the horn once, and dances with the willow towel, and that is the end.

/182/ The seventh part is Feng Lao /"sealing the prison"/. The sorcerer-priest wears the red garment and his head is wrapped

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*182 with a red kerchief. He blows his horn, then holds it in his left hand and waves the ritual knife in his right hand, and does the three-step walk before the Peach Spring cave, while uttering the Feng Lao incantation. After reciting one passage, he sets up the ritual knife on his right wrist, stretching both hands out level, but bent slightly upward, with the horn resting on them, and gesticulates and continues his incantation. He does this five times, in the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, each time going around in a circle twice. After the performance at the center is completed, he takes a bowl and covers it with a sheet of yellow paper, and puts it in front of the Peach Spring cave. He then sticks his knife in front of the bowl. Standing in front of the bowl, he recites the incantation for collecting pestilences. After one passage of the incantation, he wraps the bowl in the yellow paper, pulls out his ritual knife, and straddles /sic/ before the shen, holding the horse whip, and says: "I have just caught the evil kuei from the east, who will be reduced to dust and ashes." On finishing this incantation, he strikes the ground in the direction of the east with the whip, and with his foot he moves the paper-wrapped bowl on the ground. He then repeats the same act toward the south, west, north, and center exactly as toward the east. He next moves the bowl under the altar, himself standing before the bowl, the end of his whip resting under the bowl, and blows the horn once more. When the beating of the gong and drum ceases, he continues the incantation. Then the beating of the instruments is resumed, and he bows three times facing the No shen, and this part is over.

The eighth part is Hui Ping /"assembling of troops"/. The sorcerer-priest first beats the gong and drum himself, then he dons his red garment, wraps his head in a red kerchief, and puts on the ceremonial headgear. After blowing his horn once, he utters the incantation for the assembling of troops. After saying a passage, he sits down on a stool and beats the gong nine times. Then he utters the incantation to calm and soothe, beating the gong nine times after each passage. When this incantation is over, he blows the horn once more, and follows with the incantation to count the troops. After this, he says the

/182 cont./
*182 Lao-chün /Lao-tzu/ incantation and the magic words for hiding the body, beating the gong as he recites. When the beating ends, he hands the gong over to his helper to beat, grasps the willow towel, and burns three sticks of incense in a bowl, adding to it a small amount of paper money and uncooked rice. The bowl is placed on the table, He stands up and does the three-step walk and also gesticulates. He also does the three-step walk and gesticulates facing the No shen. He utters the incantation of leading in /chieh yin/. When this is over, he squats before the lower altar, and facing inside, blows the horn once. The gong and drum stop, and he utters the esoteric yin hsiang /"lead each other"/ words. When these words are said, he bows three times and blows the horn once more, and continues the second series of the secret words. On completion he stands up, holding a whip in his hand, does the three-step walk, and utters the chiai wen incantation. After this, paper and incense are burned and the beating of gong and drum ends. Holding the ritual knife and willow towel, he utters the incantation to pledge in wine. After reciting a passage, he waves the knife and the willow towel downward three times, while beating the gong and drum. After the beating, the incantation is continued. The same act is done three times, once facing inward and once facing outward, also three more times facing inward. When this is over, the gong and drum are beaten and the sorcerer-priest blows the horn, after which he dances with the willow towel, twice facing the inside, and once facing outside. After the dance is over, he utters an incantation to invite the spirits to take their seats.

/183/ The ninth part is Chieh chia /"welcoming the carriage"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, and ceremonial headgear. He beats the gong and drum, does the three-step walk in front of the Peach Spring cave, blows the horn, and gesticulates as in the ritual for P'u Tan. After this is over, he holds a candle in his right hand and blows the horn in front of the Peach Spring cave. After blowing the horn, and the beating of gong and drum stops, he utters the k'ai-kuang incantation. After uttering a passage, he circles once, then changes the candle to his left hand. After another passage, the gong and

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*782 drum are beaten and the horn blown. The sorcerer-priest, candle in hand, faces the No shen. After he has once more uttered the k'ai-kuang incantation, he sticks the candle in the candlestick, takes up two hsien-feng banners, blows the horn and waves the banners, three times in all. When the waving of the banners and the beating of gong and drum cease, he sings out magic words invoking the shen before the Peach Spring. cave. After one passage is sung, he beats the drum and gong, blows the horn, and waves the banners, three times. Then the drum and gong are silenced, and facing the Peach Spring cave he continues to sing, accompaning the singing with the gesture of sweeping something outdoors and sweeping something in. Raising the banners with both hands, he also makes the gestures of opening doors to the right and left, and then he deposits the banners in the hands of Duke No and Mother No, followed by gesticulating along with the phrases sung. When this is over, he does the three-step walk; facing outside, next facing inside, he recites and gesticulates, and does the three-step walk. Afterward facing the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center, utters incantations and does the three-step walk. Then he uses the whip to draw the character for a well in the eastern corner, and then turns to the Peach Spring cave to lay down the whip and pick up the chiao-tzu, inviting the shen to dismount. Lighting three sticks of incense, he leads the host to worship the shen. Next he utters *[787] another incantation and divines with the chiao. When the yin chiao appears it indicates Duke No has dismounted. The yang chiao indicates Mother No has dismounted, and the sheng chiao, the dis- [776] mounting of the San Ch'ing /the Taoist trinity/. Then he invites the ancestors of the family and other shen to dismount, following with the incantation to disrobe, and the ritual terminates.

*782 The tenth part is the seeking of a son. (This is performed only for a host without a son.) 842 In front of the Peach Spring cave is set up a long table about ten chang long, spread with blue or green cloth, red and white being avoided. The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, fancy headgear, and the willow towel on his back. Standing before the long table in front

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*782 842 of the Peach Spring cave, he sings the secret words to seek a son, announcing at the same time the eight cyclical characters appertaining to the date and hour of birth of the host. After the singing, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the sorcerer-priest blows the horn three times, after which he holds a cane and utters the incantation for hiding the body. After every two sentences, he blows the horn once and moves up forward one step; after another sentence he gives another blow of the horn and again moves up forward another step. Thus, uttering a sentence then blowing the horn, he walks up to the table. He does the three-step walk on the table and recites the incantation for "building the bridge." After one passage, the sorcerer-priest takes the ritual knife which is in his right hand, and hangs it on his right wrist, while the horn leans against the crook of the arms, and continues the incantation, gesticulating at the same time according to the meaning of the words of the incantation. He recites a passage and makes gestures in each of the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. On finishing each passage, he must blow the horn once. After the five directions have been done, he again faces the Peach Spring cave, and raps the horn with one *chiao-tzu* held in the right hand, while the gong and drum are also sounded, and utters an incantation. After a passage, holding the willow towel in his left hand and the ritual knife in his right hand, he waves three times with both hands upward, downward, left, and right. /184/ The gong and drum are then silenced and the incantation for pledging in wine is said. After the incantation, the host and the hostess, carrying prayer boxes on their backs, kneel down separately at both sides of the long table; the man to the left and the woman to the right. The sorcerer-priest kneels on the table, reading a petition asking for a son, the couple paying respects along with the sorcerer-priest. After the petition has been read, the sorcerer-priest picks up the *chiao-tzu* in his right
*[787] hand and utters one more passage of an incantation, and then divines with the *chiao-tzu*. After seeking and obtaining the the *sheng chiao*, he utters another passage, and divines again,

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*782 seeking the sheng chiao, to recognize that the shen have ac-
842 cepted the petition. Further incantations are recited by the
*787 sorcerer-priest, who kneels and makes obeisance after every
sentence, with the host and hostess following suit. He divines again to inquire the date when the son will be born. Then he utters the chiao-na /"to entertain"/ incantation, after which he divines again, either the sheng chiao or yin chiao being considered satisfactory. If the yang chiao appears, he must divine again. He then utters the kow-hsiao /"cancelling"/ incantation and requests the shen to heed the incantation. After the sheng chiao is sought and obtained, the gong and the drum are sounded, and the host and hostess kneel on the ground while the sorcerer-priest stands up and blows the horn. The helper burns the petition as well as the prayer boxes carried on the backs of the host and hostess. A face basin is provided, filled with clear water and on which there is a board. The burning petition and prayer boxes are placed on the board to let the ashes fall into the water. The sorcerer-priest throws the willow towel on his shoulders; his ritual knife hangs on his right wrist, and the horn leans in the crook of his arms; the fingers of his two hands are together, with the two thumbs turning in circles, which means wheeling in wealth for the shen. Then he does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After the incantation he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, he blows the horn, after which he picks up a bowl, in which he throws several grains of rice. Then he deposits 12 previously written tickets for drawing lots in the bowl with the rice and puts a bowl cover on it. This is called the yin-yang bowl. The sorcerer-priest holds the bowl with both hands, shaking it as he calls out the names of the various shen. After this, he puts a large winnowing basket under the long table, and another man opens a parasol, and rotates it from left to right above the tray. The sorcerer-priest lifts the cover a bit and shakes it incessantly above the parasol to let the tickets and rice fall out on the parasol and then run down the parasol to fall into the winnowing basket. Then the host and the

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*782 hostess are each asked to draw a ticket. The sorcerer-priest
842 then divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is ob-
tained, he looks at the characters on the ticket to decide
*787 whether it is auspicious or inauspicious, disaster or good fortune.
If the yin chiao or yang chiao is obtained, then the tickets are
thrown back into the yin-yang bowl to be shaken again and
drawn again. The characters written on the tickets are gen-
erally as follows: 1) five males, two females, 2) seven sons all
united, 3) five sons will pass the examinations, 4) long life,
wealth, honor, 5) sons and grandsons will fill the hall, 6) all
requests will be granted, 7) the five grains will be fruitful, 8)
the six domestic animals will increase, 9) the melon vines will
spread continuously, 10) I alone will be denied, 11) whatever
is sought is not granted, 12) what difficulties! When a ticket
showing sons is obtained, the helper immediately gets a little
No on a small chair to the right outside the door, names the
No child, wraps it to make a bundle, and with both hands lifts
it up and walks across the yin bridge to bring it to the hands of
Mother No, and then carries it in his arms to the hostess. The
host and the hostess both pay their respects to it and rise. The
hostess carries the No child in her arms to the bed. The sorcerer-
priest blows the horn facing out the door, /185/ and utters the
incantation for locking and shutting the door. As he recites he
gesticulates and after blowing once on the horn, he grasps a
cane and lays it crosswise on the ground, utters an incantation,
and divines. After he gets the yang chiao or the sheng chiao, he
blows the horn. His helper gathers up the items on sacrifice,
and after some more reciting by the sorcerer the ritual ends.

*782 The eleventh part[1] is Ch'üan Chiu /"pledging in wine"/.
The sorcerer with his head wrapped in a red kerchief and wearing
273 the willow towel on his back, sits in front of the Peach Spring
cave and sings the magic words for pledging in wine. After
singing two sentences, he beats the gong and drum seven or eight
times. After one passage is sung, two helpers each brings up to
the Peach Spring cave a small winnowing basket, which contains
roasted corn, soy beans, and an item of silver jewelry as well as

[1] [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

/185 cont./

*782 two ch'ih of cloth, and sets it down, one to the right and one to 273 the left of the cave. The sorcerer kneels left of the Peach Spring cave table, and the host kneels to the right, each holding in his hand a cup of wine. The caretaker of the altar, holding a pot of wine, stands beside the sorcerer-priest, ready to pour wine into the cups of the sorcerer and the host. On the table there are three wine cups, and the sorcerer-priest and the host drink to each other. The sorcerer sings out the names of the shen one by one, and pledges them with wine. As each name is sung out, the gong and drum must be struck several blows, and the sorcerer and host get up, lift the wine toward the cave, and bow once. The helpers offer the sacrificial items in the small winnowing baskets to the shen, while gong and drum are beaten several times. The caretaker of the altar pours wine into the cups held by the sorcerer-priest and the host. Altogether ten or more names of shen are sung out, and the same ritual also is performed ten or more times. But for the tenth shen, both the sorcerer-priest and the host must kneel down outside the door, and the helpers and the caretaker of the altar also must offer the sacrifices outside the door. After the ceremony is over, the sorcerer-priest and the host put their cups upside down on the table. The gong *782 and drum are sounded several times, and the two pieces of cloth *[787] in the winnowing baskets are collected together. The sorcerer-priest then divines with the chiao, and when he gets the sheng chiao, the roasted corn and the beans are divided and eaten.

The twelfth part is Hsia Ma Fan /"dismounting meal"/. The sorcerer-priest stands before the Peach Spring cave in his red clothes and red headkerchief and willow towel. He blows his horn, then changes it over to his left hand, and, taking a chiao-tzu in his right hand, raps the horn with it, at the same time uttering an incantation. After a passage he blows the horn, and taking the willow towel in his left hand and the ritual knife in his right, he utters the incantation for pledging with wine. Following this he dances with the willow towel, and then utters *[787] the ~~incantation for divination.~~ After a passage he divines with the chiao, and after the sheng chiao is obtained he continues

/185 cont./

*782 to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and *[787] shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the sheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 533 The thirteenth part[4] is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] [776] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113] 1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü

[4] [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

*782 533 [143] /186 cont./

Wa te Ch'uan Shuo
/The Story of the Flood
among the Miao and the
Legend of Fu Hsi and
Nü Wa/, " in Jen-lui
Hsüeh Chi K'an
/Anthropological Review/,
Vol. 1, No. 1.

the play, "Meng Chiang Nü," and the friends and relatives who come to see it toss out cash as "praising the song money."

*782 789 The fourteenth part[1] is checking in the troops. (This part of the ritual is performed only when the host desires to drive away evil influences, otherwise it may be omitted.) Rice straw is spread before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is laid a fine bamboo mat. The sorcerer, with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding two spears, stands on the mat and does the three-step walk. A helper picks up the colter of a plow and puts it in the fire until it is red. The sorcerer sings, swinging the spears. He first checks the troops in the five directions, eact, south, west, north, and center. For the east, north, and center he faces the inside of the house, whereas for the south and north /sic/ he faces outward. Next he checks the names of the 12 piao /body of troops/ leaders, and then the soldiers of the 12 months. After this checking, holding the two spears in his left hand and taking the chiao-tzu in his right hand, he divines. *[787] If the yin chiao appears, it is considered that Duke No has mounted his horse; the yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the sheng chiao shows that all the other shen have mounted their horses. When the divination shows that all the shen have mounted their horses, the gong and drum are struck, the sorcerer priest blows his horn and grasps the spears, which have been in his left hand, separately and waves them to the left and right, does the three-step walk, and at the same time utters the hua-piao /"transforming the spears"/ incantation. After one passage, he goes

[1] [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

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#782 789 around in a circle, faces to the right of the Peach Blossom cave, bends a little, and, spears still waving to the right and left, continues the incantation. After another passage, he takes a step facing outside, acts as if he were mounting a horse, then turns facing inside again. He passes the two spears to the helper, blows the horn once, and then picks up two hsien-feng banners and waves them to the right and left, at the same time uttering the hua-ch'i /transforming the banners"/ incantation. After passage, he takes another step facing outside the door, and once more makes the movement of mounting a horse, once more turns facing inside, passes the two hsien-feng banners to the helper, blows the horn once, picks up the branch of a peach tree, and waving it right and left, utters the ts'o-su /"twisting rope"/ incantation, /187/ gesticulating according to the text of the incantation to the east, south, west, north, and center. Then after he has turned facing inside and has blown the horn once, he utters the jang-hu /"lake"/ and the jang-hai /"sea"/ incantations to the five directions. Then he blows the horn once toward the interior of the house, picks up the whip in his left hand, shakes the ritual knife in his right hand, takes the three-step walk, and in the din of gong and drum he utters the ch'a-ping /"despatching the troops"/ incantation. After a passage, he walks in a circle, puts the whip and knife on the ground, makes gestures with his left hand, does the three-step walk, and continues the incantation. Then he changes the style of walking. After eight steps, he circles around once and faces to the right of the Peach Spring cave, his two hands together, the fingers intertwined and the thumbs twirling. With his right foot planted on the whip and the knife and both hands waving to the left and right, he utters the incantation to expel evil influences. After one passage, he circles around once, picks up the whip and knife from the ground, strikes the ground with the whip once, and jumps once, then while jumping he utters an incantation. Then he faces inside and picks up the red-hot colter in the fire with a pair of iron tongs. On top of it he puts some paper money, a piece of mi-pa, and some drops of tung oil.

/*187 Cont.*/

*782 As black smoke curls up, he asks someone to go around the 789 house with it, and when he comes to the front of a bed, to the central hall, and beside the cattle stall, he puts down the colter, while the sorcerer spits a mouthful of tung oil on the colter to send black smoke curling upward. Helpers, holding spears, banners, and peach branches, cry out loudly, "ho, ho," to drive away the evil kuei. The sorcerer, holding the willow towel and the ritual knife, follows behind, waving and dancing, uttering an incantation all the while. After the tour of the house is over, the colter is deposited outside, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the main house to utter another incantation *[787] and to divine. After the *sheng chiao* or the *yin chiao* are obtained, he sings out the magic words to call in the troops, to the accompaniment of the sound of gong and drum. After singing a passage, he picks up the two spears and waves them to the right and left as he did when he checked in the troops. After *[787] singing some more, he divines, and on obtaining the *sheng chiao*, the ritual is over.

*782 The fifteenth part is T'ao Chiao /"asking for the chiao-tzu"/. On a small table is placed a sheng of rice, a piece of cloth (green or blue in color), and a woman's ornament. On the rice are stuck three sticks of incense and a pair of candles. The sorcerer priest appears in a red headkerchief and carrying the willow towel on his back, and sings the T'ao Chiao incantation. After one passage is sung, the helpers spread out rice straw on the ground, and on it is spread a piece of bedding. The sorcerer-priest and the host both kneel down on the bedding; the sorcerer puts the willow towel in front of his knees, holds a *ling-p'ai* /honorable tablet, i.e. the ancestral tablet?/ in his left hand and the *chiao-tzu* in his right, and utters an incanta- *[787] tion to invoke the shen. When it is divined that the shen have already descended and taken cognizance of the items on sacrifice, the sorcerer first begs their protection for the family, the father, mother, sons, and daughters of the family, one by one, and next for the horses, oxen, goats, chickens, ducks, geese, cats, and dogs. Next he seeks their protection so that the five

/187 cont./
*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last
he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred
kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena.
After this, he inverts the two *chiao-tzu* on the tablet. Next he
*782 utters the incantation about the origin of the *chiao-tzu*. He says
*787 that the *chiao-tzu* originally were three persons: the *yin chiao*
had the surname Hsiao, the *yang chiao*, Kuo, and the *sheng*
773 *chiao*, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the
place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he
*782 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The
helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/.
The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two *hsien-feng* banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front
of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking
[776] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing, the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating
fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head orna-
[292] ments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a *hsien-feng*
banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats
in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle,
singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall.
Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall,
and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then
he sings to tell about the origin of *hsien-feng*. Finally, he bids
the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements
of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the
gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several
steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the
handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the
Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the
[292] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the
[533] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

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*712 [533] heavenly shen coming down to earth. After this, he jumps down from the table and sings out what he has seen in the No hall. He then asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. After singing a passage, he strikes the gong and drum several times, walks a few steps, and then conveys the No child into the embrace of the host, and continues singing about the origin of the fairy sister. After the singing, the host puts down the image of the No child on the bed, and the caretaker of the altar burns paper money. Then the farewell incantation to the shen is sung, after which the gong and the drum are struck and the ritual terminates.

The nineteenth part is Pan K'ai-shan /"impersonating Kai-shan"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red headkerchief and [532] a K'ai-shan mask, which has red whiskers and heavy eyebrows. Holding a wooden axe in his hand, he walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, dancing with hands and feet. First he sings about what he has seen en route to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. Next he asks to see the host to sing a passage of lucky words, after which he begins a conversation with the host, performing at the same [529] time. The conversation has no definite subject but is full of humor.

The twentieth part is Pan Suan-chiang /"impersonating Suan-chiang"/. The sorcerer with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding a cane and a spear, walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, while singing out the reasons for his going to the No hall and what he saw there. He asks to see the host and sings a passage of auspicious words and has a conversation with him, at the same time performing. After this the host withdraws. Another person dressed as K'ai-shan /name of a general/ engages in a conversation with Suan-chiang /also a general/, and performs. After this, they engage in a duel. K'ai-shan wins and Suan-chiang loses. But K'ai-shan withdraws first. Suan-chiang sings the farewell incantation to the shen, and the ritual ends.

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*782 The twenty-first part is Pan Shih-niang /"impersonating a
woman"/. The sorcerer, in women's attire and holding a willow
towel, stands before the Peach Spring cave. First there is a
conversation, then he throws the willow towel on his back and
blows the horn once. He then takes a chiao-tzu to rap the horn,
while at the same time gong and drum are struck and he utters
the incantation to invoke the spirit, bowing as he chants. On
*[787] completing the incantation, he divines. /189/ After he ob-
tains the sheng chiao, he removes the willow towel from his
back and, holding it in his left hand while waving the knife in
hand, with the beating of gong and drum stopped, he utters an
incantation to pledge with wine. This done he dances with the
willow towel. After the dance, drum and gong silent, he does
the three-step walk and sings the incantation of leaving the shen.
After singing a passage, he beats the gong and drum several
times, and walks a bit outside like a woman, and then goes
back in the house. The drum and gong are silenced. After
singing briefly, he discards the costume and takes a rest.

The twenty-second part is Pan T'ieh chiang /"impersonating
a blacksmith"/. The sorcerer wears a red headkerchief, holds
a cane in his hand, and has the willow towel hanging behind
his back on his belt. The whip is stuck into the horn, which he
carries on his back. He walks in a semicircle before the Peach
Spring cave. First, he sings about the reason for his going to
the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen there. Next
he asks to see the host to say a few words of good luck and engage
[522] him in a humorous dialogue, ending with a Miao song. Then
he acts out a blacksmith beating iron to make an axe and hand-
ing it over to K'ai-shan. At last he utters the incantation of
leaving the shen, and the ritual ends.

The twenty-third part is Pan Ho-shang /"impersonating a
monk"/. A winnowing basket is placed upside down in the
middle of the central hall, and on it are set five bowls of wine,
one bowl of water, five piles of pa-pa, and a piece of tofu in
a bowl with sticks of incense and candles stuck in it. Around
the basket are five pages of scripture, interspersed with paper

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*782 money. There is also a prayer box and a monk's mask. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief and red garment, stands before the basket, hitting the small cymbals with both hands and bowing at the same time. After three bows he hits the cymbals against each other and utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After a passage, he picks up the bowl of water and dips the fingers of his right hand into it and flicks the water on the sacrificial offerings. He continues the incantation, picks up the cymbals in his hands and hits each of the cymbals on the edges. The incantation is continued, but after each passage
[788] he hits the edges of the cymbals and bows three times each time. After seven repetitions of the hitting and bowing, he
*[787] divines. On obtaining the sheng chiao he pledges with wine. This is followed by the reading of the prayers. The shen are then asked to accept the sacrifices. Paper is burned and the shen are sent off. The sorcerer hits the edges of the cymbals again, walking along the basket in a semicircle, and recites the farewell incantation to the shen. When the incantation is over, he pours out the water from the bowl toward the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center.

The twenty-fourth part is Chiao Hsing /"delivering animals"/. A large table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it are offered a pig and a goat. Stuck in the animals are sticks of incense and candles, and on the side are two butcher's knives. Under the table are offered the viscera of the animals, in which are also stuck sticks of incense and candles. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief, ceremonial headgear, and red garment, and carrying the willow towel on the back, stands before the Peach Spring cave, singing the magic words of offering animals. After one passage is sung, first he makes the magic sign of his patron saint with his left hand, and then with his right hand. He announces the names of three generations of ancestors of the host. Then the gong and drum are sounded, and he blows the horn three times, after which he puts it down. His left hand continues to make the magic signs of his patron saint, and he utters magic words asking his patron saint to deliver the animals.
*[787] After the incantation he divines. After the sheng chiao is

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*782 obtained, the sorcerer raps /190/ the horn, at the same time uttering the incantation to invoke the shen. After the recitation, he waves the ritual knife and the caretaker of the altar pours the wine. He then recites the incantation pledging with wine. After this he dances with the willow towel. When the *[787] dance is over the gong and drum are silenced. He divines, and after obtaining the sheng chiao he utters the incantation for the shen to accept the offerings. After this, he first beseeches the shen to protect the men and women, old and young, of the family, next, the six domestic animals, and finally, the five grains. After asking for protection, he seeks the wealth for the host and the expulsion of pestilence and strange events. He also seeks the opening of the prison and the cangue to release *[787] souls. For each thing sought he has to divine until the sheng chiao is obtained, after which he gives an interpretation of the chiao to decide whether they are auspicious or not. Then there follow the chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. After the incantations paper money is burned and the gong and drum are sounded. At the same time the sorcerer utters the incantation for wheeling in money, and the ritual ends.

The twenty-fifth part is Pan Pa Lang /"impersonating the eighth young men"/. The sorcerer wears a red head wrap and a mask and shoulders an umbrella and a bundle, disguising himself as a traveler. He walks around in a semicircle behind the table for the pig and goat. His right hand waves the ritual knife, and to the accompaniment of the gong and drum, he sings of the ancient men of the twelfth month, continuing with explaining the reason for going to the No hall. He asks to see [532] the host and after a humorous conversation, he acts out the procedures of haggling over prices, paying for goods purchased, pursuing pigs and goats, catching them, killing them, and cutting them up. After this performance, when he has divined *[787] and has obtained the sheng chiao he sings the magic words for the handing over of animals. He then turns over the pig and the goat to the man in charge of the kitchen to cook, and then sings

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*782 the magic words about pigs, goats, chickens, fish, wine, candles, tofu, and pa-pa. When the singing is over, he says farewell to the shen, and the ritual terminates.

The twenty-sixth part is "tasting the cooked food." The cooked heart, liver, lung, and intestines of the pig and the goat are cut and placed in five bowls. These together with five cups of wine are placed in a large winnowing basket. The meat from the shinbone of the pig and goat are cut into a bowl each, in which are stuck three sticks of incense, two candles, and a liang-yüan. (1) The rest of the pig and goat meat, as well as a piece of tofu, are placed upon the large table with sticks of incense and candles stuck in them. The butcher knife pasted with paper money is also stuck into the meat. On the table there is also a prayer box. In addition an earthen jug of wine stands beside the table. The sorcerer wears a red garment, red headkerchief, ceremonial headgear, and the willow towel, and stands behind the large table, singing the magic words for the items on sacrifice. After singing, his left hand makes the magic signs of his patron saints, and he sings out their names, as well as the dates of their birth. His right hand also makes the magic signs, and he sings out the names of the ancestors of the host. After this, the gong and drum are sounded, and the sorcerer blows his horn three times. He then says the magic words for offering the sacrifices, after which he divines.

*[787] After the sheng chiao is obtained he says two more phrases, blows the horn once more, and raps it with one of the chiao-tzu, at the same time uttering an incantation (the same as for P'u T'an). After this, the gong and drum are silenced, and he

1. A liang-yüan is made of a piece of white paper curled up and attached to a stick, which is stuck in the incense urn before the spirit /shen/ altar. It is made when making a vow.

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*782 asks the age of the pig, the goat, and the wine. After the bystanders answer, he continues to sing one more passage, /191/ and then sticks his whip into the jug of wine, pulling it out immediately. He utters an incantation requesting the shen to drink wine. After this he waves his ritual knife in his right hand, holds the willow towel in his left hand, and stands behind the table offering the pig and the goat, uttering an incantation pledging in wine. Then he dances with the willow towel. When the dance is over, the gong and drum are silenced. The host holds out the prayer box in his two hands, and with the sorcerer kneels down and reads the prayer, after which they both stand up. The sorcerer divines, and after obtaining the sheng
*[787] chiao, he utters an incantation for the shen to inspect and receive the sacrifices. After this he invokes the protection of the shen for the men and women, old and young, in the family as well as for the six animals and five grains. When the prayer for protection has been said, he then prays for wealth for the host and the expulsion of pestilence and strange events. He further prays for the opening of the prison and the cangue for the release of souls. Every time he asks for something, he must
*[787] divine, seeking the sheng chiao. Afterward he decides whether the chiao are auspicious or not. After he has decided about the chiao, he utters the chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. After the incantations he burns paper money, beats the gong and drum, and at the same time utters the incantation for wheeling in money. This concludes the ritual.

The twenty-seventh part is Shao Yüan /"burning of liang-yüan"/. After "tasting the cooked food," the sorcerer-priest does not discard his garment and headgear but immediately performs the Shao Yüan before the Peach Spring cave. The host, holding in both hands a small winnowing basket, in which have been placed a piece of meat from the shinbone of a pig and a goat, two cups of wine, a pair of candles, three sticks of incense, and a liang-yüan stands to the left of the sorcerer-priest. Helpers hold up a large winnowing basket, in which are five bowls each of pork and goat meat and five bowls of wine, and stand to the right of the sorcerer. (If the tray is too

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*782 heavy, it may be placed on a stool). The sorcerer, waving
the ritual knife in his right hand, sings the magic words of Shao
Yüan. After he has sung a long passage, the helpers put the
basket on the ground. The sorcerer leads the host outdoors in
front of the hsi-kung and utters the incantation to pledge the
opponents in wine. After the incantation the sorcerer takes the
two cups of wine in the basket held by the host and pours the
wine on the ground, and puts the cups upside down in the basket.
He then returns with the host in front of the Peach Spring cave,
and squats on the ground. The host puts down the small winnowing
basket, holds the prayer box in both hands, and kneels in
front of the No shen. The sorcerer holds the liang-yüan in his
hand and recites the ch'ou-yüan incantation. When the incantation
is over, a helper burns the liang-yüan and the prayer
box, as well as some paper money. The sorcerer sings the
*[787] yüan magic words and divines the time when the No shen will
go back. He also invokes protection for the peace of the family
of the host, the increase of the six animals, and the abundance
of the five grains. After the sheng chiao is obtained, the gong
and drum are struck, and the sorcerer and the host stand up.
The former blows the horn once, then rests it on his wrists, takes
the three-step walk, and utters the incantation for wheeling in
money. After having blown the horn three times, the sorcerer
takes off his garment and takes a rest. In the meantime the
pork and the mutton /goat meat/ are cut up and placed in 12
bowls and put before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer takes
the chiao-tzu, and after uttering the incantation for pledging
*[787] with wine, seeks the sheng chiao, after which the ritual
terminates.

The twenty-eighth part is Pan T'u-ti /"impersonating the
local divinity of the soil"/. The sorcerer, wearing the mask
[532] of the local divinity of the soil and holding his patron saint's
cane and whip, sings a few phrases in the main hall and then
[522] engages in a humorous dialogue. Then he sings out the names
of the malignant spirits of the 12 months and /192/ indulges in
[776] humorous dialogue with the host. Next he sings out the ranks

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+782 and ages of the nine local divinities who are brothers. After
[776] this he announces the name and place of birth of the host, asks
the shen to receive the offerings, and also asks for their pro-
tection. He then utters the chiao-na, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling
incantations, after which he sings the magic words of keng-
yang-ch'un. Then he bids the shen farewell, and the ritual
terminates.

The twenty-ninth part is Pan P'an-kuan /"impersonating
a judge"/. A table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and
on it is placed a sheng of rice with several coins on it. There
are also set out two cups of wine, two bowls of meat, a trayful
of salted peppers, and a pot of wine. The sorcerer wears the
[532] mask of a judge, a red garment, and a red kerchief around the
head, and holds a spear in his right hand as a pen, and in his
left hand a cash account book as well as a ling-p'ai /spirit
tablet/. He walks in a semicircle outside the door, singing
out the reason for going to the No hall. As he walks into the
house, he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. He asks
[522] to see the host and engages him in some humorous dialogue;
he congratulates him and asks him to take part in the worship
of the No shen. At the same time the gong and drum are
sounded, and the sorcerer takes his place behind the table with
his back toward the Peach Spring cave. On the right and the
left of the table sit two other men, and the host sits before the
table, facing the judge. The sorcerer sings, and the two men
and the host sing in response. Wine is poured for the host to
drink while good luck words are sung. He drinks four times
while four passages are sung. After this, the host leaves the
table. Then he performs the act of filing a petition, which is
[522] purposely made full of jokes, which the sorcerer refutes. At
last the purpose of the petition is given to be the fulfilling of
a vow to the No shen. The sorcerer then opens up the cash
account book and begins to read, carrying on at the same time
a dialogue with the helpers. Now and then he makes a sign in
the book with red ink and writes the character huan /"paid"/

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*782 on the page, singing: "The character *huan* is written thousands
of times, and of the character *ch'ien* /"due"/ not a fraction is
left." Every passage read in the account book is followed by
singing and acting. After this the sorcerer-priest burns a few
pieces of paper money, handing them to the helpers to be
burned in front of the door in order to send back the shen. This
being done, the sorcerer, holding the book in his left hand and
holding up the spear in his right hand, walks in a semicircle,
facing the door. He sings the farewell song to the shen, and
the ritual ends.

The thirtieth part is Chin Piao /"presenting spears"/. The
sorcerer, wearing the red garment and a red kerchief around
his head, topped with the ceremonial headgear, holds two
spears in his hands and walks in front of the door in a semicircle,
singing the magic words of Chin Piao. After singing a passage,
he walks into the house to stand before the Peach Spring cave
and recites another passage. He then burns one spear and sings
the magic words to invite the shen to receive the spear. After
*[787] the singing, he divines. The *yang chiao* indicates that Duke No
has received it, the *yin chiao* indicates that Mother No has
[776] taken it. The *sheng chiao* indicates that the San-ch'ing shen
has taken it. The other spear is stuck into the sheng of rice in
order to make a vow. Some more magic words about the spear
are said, while at the same time the sorcerer acts out the meaning
of the words. Then he utters the magic words of offering
wine before mounting a horse, and the host pours out wine from
the pot. After five cups have been poured, the sorcerer divines.
*[787] The *yang chiao* indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan
chair; the *yin chiao* indicates that Duke No has mounted his
horse; and the *sheng chiao* indicates that the San-ch'ing shen
has mounted. The sorcerer sings as he divines, while the helpers
dismantle the set-up in the Peach Spring cave. When it is
divined that the No shen and the San-ch'ing all have mounted,
the sorcerer goes outdoors /193/ and jumps on his left foot as if
mounting a horse himself. After gesticulating with his hands
to indicate a large horse and a small horse, he sings out more

/193 cont./

*782 magic words, facing the inside of the house, calling upon the ancestral spirits of three generations to get on their horses. *[787] For these the sheng chiao is required. After the divination the helpers beat the gong and drum, and at the same time the images of Duke No and Mother No are taken down. First the heads are taken off and given to the host, who places them on the bed. Then the paraphernalia from the dismantled Peach Spring cave are either burned or kept for future use. Then the gong and drum are sounded, the sorcerer blows on his horn, and the helpers come out, carrying the various things one by one in an orderly fashion. The sorcerer follows behind and closes the door for the host, at the same time uttering the incantation for closing doors. Then he opens the door, and utters the incantation for opening doors. After this all of them go to a vacant area of level ground, where rice straw is spread. The prayer box is burned here to the accompaniment of the beating of gong and drum. The sorcerer blows the horn once and then [788] places it in the crook of his arms with his hands folded together, the fingers crossed together, and the thumbs going around, and does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After each passage he circles once and blows the horn once. Altogether eight passages are uttered, and eight times the horn is blown. A helper then picks up a cock held in readiness and bites through the neck, letting its blood drip down around the spot where the prayer box was burned. Then the sorcerer, holding the horn in his right hand and lifting the left lower corner of his red garment with his left hand, walks around the place where the blood has dripped. [576] When he returns to his original place, he squats on his heels, puts the horn in between his knees, and utters the incantation for opening the road, performing at the same time. First he [788] sticks out the middle finger and forefinger of each hand, and then the little fingers and the fourth fingers. Then he joins both hands behind his back, crossing the fingers together. Moving his hands to the front he rotates them on his chest, and then covers his ears with his sleeves. When the acting and

/193 cont./
*782 the chanting are over, the gong and drum are silenced, and the sorcerer-priest returns to the host's house to eat breakfast. After breakfast the sorcerer makes a liang-yüan, and with both hands he gives it to the host to be stuck in the sheng of rice. At the same time he says a few words of good luck.

At this point, all the various rituals for Huan No Yüan are over. The sorcerer packs up his implements and the thank-you gifts from the host, who sends someone to escort him home. On passing each village the sorcerer must blow his horn once, the idea being to call the yin troops to return to the altar. When he arrives home he blows his horn once more and utters the incantation of returning to the altar.

(2) Magic

771
789 Both magic and religion are in the sacred domain. The distinction between the two sometimes is not very clear. The celebrated British scholar of magic and religion, Sir James Frazer, set up his standard of differentiating between magic and religion on the basis of whether the method employed in controlling nature was a personal, direct application of the use of spells and charms, or an indirect one by invoking the help of spirits. (1) The former is /194/ magic, and the latter is religion. The contemporary scholar, Malinowski, has made a more penetrating distinction between the two. He says: "Within the domain of the sacred, magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfillment of their purpose." (1)

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1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's translation, pp. 3-4.

1. See above-quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[931] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[782] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in
[821] order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion,
because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work
of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly
control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether
it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician.
Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether
there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and
beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various
kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing
sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has
largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself
having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with
it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao
in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from
magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of
pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique,
and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan
has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today,
except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be
found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[755] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go
[754] insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people
sick.

/194 cont./

1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses,
and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
789 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

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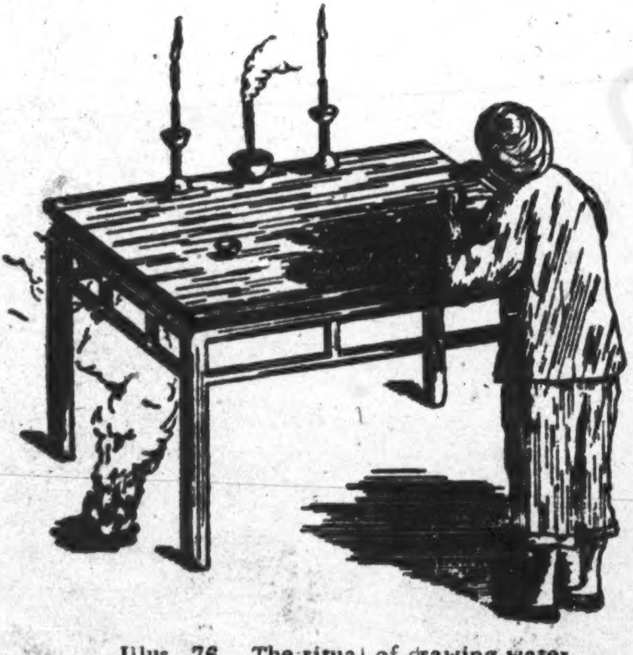
2. See previously quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

/195 cont./

755 a cup of wine, and meat, and lays them down one by one.
789 The magician then kowtows three times facing the altar for incense. Then he burns the paper money and takes down the cup of water with his left hand, using the thumb, forefinger, and little finger to hold it secure /Illus. 77 appears here/ /196/ (the middle and the fourth fingers bend into the palm). The forefinger and middle finger of his right hand close together to draw three magic signs facing the cup of water (Illus. 76, 77). While the magic signs are being drawn he

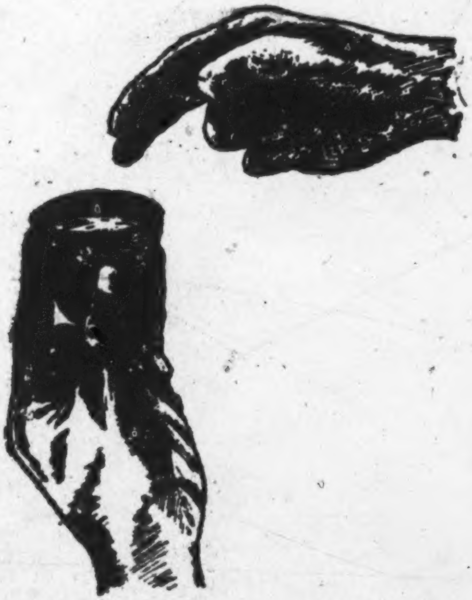
[352]



Illus. 76. The ritual of drawing water.

/196 cont./

755 recites to himself the magic formula for invoking his teacher,
789 while imagining the situation under which his teacher taught
him. After the magic formula invoking the teacher has been said, he utters the magic formula for drawing water, and at a certain passage he takes a mouthful of water and sprays it upon the sick person, or he asks the sick person to drink the cup of water. In case of sudden illness or an injury sustained in open country or in the mountains, when it is not possible to set up an incense altar, it is only necessary to burn incense and paper, recite the incantation and draw the spell, and smear the injured part of the sick person with saliva.



Illus. 77. The gesture for drawing water.

The incantations for drawing water may be divided into two parts: one part is the magic formula for the invocation of

/196 cont./

155 789 the teacher, and the second part is the magic formula for the water. In the various kinds of incantations for drawing water, the formula for invoking the teacher is largely similar, but the formula for water differs. The following are some examples:

(1) Chiang-chün shui /general's water/: Cures sudden illness accompanied by fainting. The magic formula for invoking the teacher runs as follows: "Invoking /197/ Master so and so, who taught me orally, I raise my head to look up to the skies in the center of which the master is, and call him to come. As soon as I call, he comes. He is before me, behind me, to my left, and to my right, going from front to back, from left to right, hiding me, transforming me, so that where my body is cannot be seen. He helps me talk of proper water, and speaking of proper water, I draw a brass knife and an iron knife. The brass knife kills the kuei. The iron knife kills the kuei." Having said this magic formula to invite the teacher, he then utters the magic formula for the water: "Moving one foot, calling out once, I call upon the great Shang-yüan Great General. The first general, who bears the surname T'ang, was once the king of the Li kingdom; his feet pushes 800 carriages, like a room in Lao-chün's /i.e., Lao-tzu's/ inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (At this point the magician takes a mouthful of water and, making a fierce sound like a tiger, he sprays the water on the body of the sick person, and then, stamping his foot on the ground, he continues.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going away now, wait awhile. A hundred birds are repairing to the mountain, and so is the pretty woman. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The second general, whose surname is Ko, emits smoke from his

/197 cont./

755 nose and a river from his mouth, and swells in Tu-wei palace
789 in heaven. He pushes 800 carriages with his feet, like Lao-chün in his inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As in the previous instance the magician sprays a mouthful of water and stamps his foot on the ground.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The belly of the kuei will be ripped open, his intestines taken out and his heart eaten. Moving a foot, calling out once, I call upon the Shang-yüan Great General. The third general, whose surname is Chu, can reverse the current of the Yellow River and can also push 800 carriages with his feet, like a room in Lao-chün's inner sanctuary. Before Lao-chün's palace are ten armies, endowed with civil and military documents to arouse the monsters in heaven. He can call forth dragons and subdue tigers. Wool is sheared to save the monsters. For the new disaster in the second month a live goat is bought. After one slash it is sent to the Yangtze River. (As before the magician sprays water and stamps his foot.) Are you withdrawing? The general is waiting for you to come down. Are you walking away? The general is waiting for you to come over. If you are not going, wait awhile. The big ones will be half-eaten, and the little ones will be scraped and hung to dry. Everyone has a net, and so come quickly. If you do not come your nets will be messed up. (The last two sentences are uttered in a low and muffled tone.)

(2) Lu-szu shui /"egret silk"/: A remedy when a bone
752 gets stuck in the throat through eating or drinking carelessly.
755 On drinking this cup of water, the sick person can vomit out
789 or swallow down the bone. The magic formula for invoking
the teacher is the same as above. The magic formula for

752 /197 cont./
155 water is as follows: "When the moon rises above the four
789 pillars, chop up all the dirty kuei. /198/ May I become a monkey to properly change to drink water. If I call to change, then I will change. If I do not change, the disciple will draw a June sun in which to change. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not, the disciple will draw a June sun, in which to melt. If I call to change, I will change; and if I do not, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to strike me into changing. If I call to melt, I will melt; and if I do not melt, the disciple will draw 500 savage thunders to force me to melt. Raising my head to look at the four directions, I see nine dragons coming down from heaven. When the dragons come they drop off their claws; when the tigers come they drop off their skins, and the hundreds of birds in the mountains drop off their feathers. Step by step they become steel. When I touch them they become small open boats." (Chanted three times.)

(3) Hsüeh-shan shui /"snow-mountain water"/: Heals skin burns. If the injury is slight, saliva can be used to smear on the burn, but for a serious injury it is necessary to use a bowl of water. He sprays three mouthfuls of water, and also flicks water on the burned place with his fingers. The magic formula for water follows: "The first request is for a distance of one li, the second for the distance of two li. The large army knife please go to the big snow mountain; and the small army knife please go to the small snow mountain. I respectfully invite my teacher, Lung Sheng-fa and profound disciple, Ma Lao-ch'iao. When an army is burned it is broken off; when the skin is burned it is broken off. Do not flow blood! do not flow water! Take the saliva as medicine."

(4) Ke-shan shui /"separated-by-a-mountain water"/: For healing someone injured by a fall or by a cut on the other side of a mountain. If the magician hears the cry for help, he then can utter an incantation to heal the injured person, except that he must inform the injured person beforehand: "If I ask you whether you are well or not, you should reply 'yes,'

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752 or the healing will be ineffective." The magic formula for
755 water is as follows: "On the other side of the mountain press
down the mountain; on the other side of the water press down
789 the water; draw /i.e. delineate/the burden of the kuei, chop
off the kuei mountain. The old dragon has personally come to the dragon-deep rapids. Li Lao-ko of Mu-shan has been invited, and without fear of miscellaneous kuei or distant ones, the left hand draws the thunder of heaven, the right hand draws the thunder of the earth, drawing altogether 500 savage thunders."

(5) Tan-hsüeh shui /"carrying-blood water"/: This is used to heal an injured person whose blood keeps flowing. First ordering the man to take hold of the injured place, he utters an incantation and sprays a mouthful of water, and thus the bleeding will stop. The magic formula for the water is as follows: "Moving a foot, calling out once, I got Master Wu Hwa-hsing. Across the mountain I call out for the three stars; across the water I call out for shui-i /literally, "water meaning"/. The large army knife is carried to Ta-hung-sha /lit. "large great sands"/; the small army knife is carried to Hsiao /"small"/-hung-sha. The water of the Yangtze River and the current from the sea are carried. The foot stamps on the dragon's head, and the blood carried does not flow; the foot is set on the dragon's waist, and the blood carried does not seep out. Boys, boys, changed in the muddy fields. The boys are related. The master asks me to mark off the four places. The disciple asks me to point in the four directions."

(6) Feng-tao-k'ou shui /"closing-a-knife-wound water"/:
Heals knife wounds. After this incantation is uttered three
times, not only does the wound close, but the fingers become
[751] immune to knife cuts. The magic formula is: "When the sun
comes up it is a drop of red; the hand wields a golden whip to ride the dragon; a swallow of water stops the flow of the Yangtze River; the disciple presses the pulse, and the blood stops flowing."

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2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-
chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first
year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order
to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years
ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence.
Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao"
of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying:
"A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour
each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against
[671] the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article
relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still
[683] secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-
chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku
[776] witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They
let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are
let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five con-
[824] stituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones,
skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they
consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers
[159] either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will
swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him
[787] to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul
of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to
give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine."
If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It
is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is
necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny
shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be
buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under
a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this
earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practi-
tioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth
the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The
poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[439] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a profit." Volume 6 of *Yung-sui t'ing-chih* states: "A genuine ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue, and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains, where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies within a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynasties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had no results. The following notes are some material obtained through interrogation.

Ku is called /ɕʻi˧/ in the Miao language, and a ku woman is called /mpʻɑ ɕʻi˧/. Most of the ku women are loved by their husbands, /200/ which is called /tʻio˦ ɕʻi˧/, meaning seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

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754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be
taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a *ku* woman,
and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of *ku*, she
inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl
will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the
art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations
used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] *ku* woman maintains a *ku* altar, hidden in the house or in a
mountain cave. It is said that once a certain *ku* woman main-
173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the
754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut
her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inad-
vertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the *ku*
woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her,
heating water to wash the images, scalding the *ku* images
to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While
working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became con-
scious of what was happening. She went home to change her
754 clothes, then died. The eyes of a *ku* ~~woman are red~~. If she
does not send out the *ku*, she gets sick herself, and her face
turns yellow. When the *ku* victimizes a person, the woman is
protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an
ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[829] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the *ku* woman is afraid of dogs and does not
eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of *ku* are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a
swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of *ku* poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession.
He suspected that a *ku* woman in the same village was the
cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house,
where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes,
tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of
human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the *ku* woman
was shot.

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754 On the basis of the above data we can say in general that the art of *ku* is a form of black magic. Today, there are still a number of primitive societies where people take a pointed bone, stick, or arrowhead, or the wing bone of a certain kind of animal to pierce, thrust at, or point at the victim they wish to harm, in an imitative ritual, and then they reckon they will die. (1) This is very much like letting out *ku* by thrusting one or two fingers to cause a person to get sick and die. Perhaps, the art of *ku* is also a kind of love magic. [832] It is said among the Miao that *ku* women are good at making their husbands happy. The *Kwei-shun Chi-li Chou-chi* of Kwangsi states: "When a woman cannot win her husband's love, she asks for a magical formula from the magician in order to gain love. In time she practices *ku*. During the time of the full moon she sends it out to poison someone else, otherwise it would hurt her. /201/ Along Cheng-pien area this practice is most prevalent." [832] That *ku* witchcraft is a form of black magic or love magic is only our speculation, because we do not know the incantations and rituals nor the gestures and acts of the performer while carrying out the rituals. Therefore it is not easy to know what it actually is.

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1. See Malinowski: *Magic, Science and Religion*, Li Anche's Chinese translation, page 77.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM DANCE AND AMUSEMENTS

(I) The Drum Dance

*535 Although the culture of the Miao in western Hunan is
[181] comparatively backward, some of the primitive traits that are
preserved today are not entirely without merit. For example,
[526] the drum dance and boxing both are worth preserving, especial-
ly the drum dance which attracts most attention. Recording
the drum dance of the Miao, Miao Fang-pei Lan, "Feng-shu
[534] Kao," states: "They cut a tall tree, hollow out the inside, and
seal the two ends with animal skins to make a drum. Pretty
women are asked to dance and beat on it. They select good
men and women singers, who are clad in theatrical clothes in
[292] all colors, or wrapped in red blankets, with kerchiefs on the
heads and two strips of colored paper trailing behind the back.
Men to the left and women to the right, they spin and sing,
responding to each other, now raising their arms, now stamp-
ing their feet slowly or rapidly in unison to the rhythm of the
music. This is called the drum dance." This account is a
[782] description of the drum dance during the great Miao sacrificial
ceremony of eating ox. In recent times the local governments
[656] have repeatedly prohibited licentious rites among the Miao,
and so dances such as the drum dance are now rarely held.
Those Miao with some education, the so-called enlightened
[186] Miao, feel ashamed when talking about their drum dance, be-
cause they consider it as exposing their barbaric traits. Some
decades from now this kind of drum dance, which so clearly
demonstrates their own tribal nature, may become extinct.
Following are described in detail the results of our investigations.

The drum dance of the Miao in Hunan is called "monkey
[184] drumming." The Hung Miao /Red Miao/ in the vicinity of
Tung-jen in Kweichow also have a kind of drum dance called

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*535 t'iao ku /lit. "to harmonize drums"/ . The section on the
Hung Miao in Kuei-chou T'ung-chih states: "To sing and
184 dance to the beatings of the drum is called t'iao ku." Thus it
may be seen that the drum dance is common among the Hung
Miao in both Hunan and Kweichow, but it has not yet been
found among other tribes in the southwest. It is suspected that
this dance may belong to the Hung Miao alone. The histories
175 of ancient dynasties contain the names of dances of the tribes
184 of the southwest. The "Nan Man Chuan /Section on the
Southern Tribes/" in the Hou Han Shu /History of the Later Han
*535 Dynasty/ refers to the pa-yü dance, (1) the "Hsi-nan Chü I Chuan /Section on the Tribes of the Southwest/" in the Sung Shih /History of the Sung Dynasty/, has a reference to the shui-ch'ü /lit. "water tune"/ dance, (2) and there are references

1. Hou Han Shu, Vol. 116, "Lieh Chuan /Biographies/," No. 76, "Nan Man Chuan," states: "They like to sing and dance. Emperor Kao Tsung saw them, and said, 'This is the song of Prince Wu when he subdued Chou.' He ordered his musicians to learn it. This is the pa-yü dance."

2. Sung Shih, Vol. 496, "Lieh Chuan," No. 225, "Hsi-nan Chu I Chuan," states: "The first year of the Chih Tao reign period /995/, Lung Kuang-chin led the Tsang-k'o tribes of the southwest to come to bring tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsung asked them

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*535 /203/

> to perform a native dance.
> One man blew on a p'iao-sheng,
> which sounded like gnats. After
> a good while some tens of them,
> turning side by side, danced.
> They called it the shui-ch'ü."

to the ch'ü-ko /mynah?/ dance of the Miao and the hun-t'un dance of the T'ung in Ch'ih Ya by Kuang Lu of the Ming dynasty (1). None of these books refer to the drum dance. Today,

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> 1. Kuang Lu: Ch'ih Ya,
> Vol. I, sections on the
> T'ung and Miao.

the other Miao tribes, such as the He Miao and the [illegible] Miao, have only the sheng dance and the flute dance but not the drum dance. Therefore, it is suspected that the drum dance of the Hung Miao was taken from the Chinese. The drum dance was popular in China during the Han dynasty, but whether it was transmitted to the Miao at that time cannot yet be known. Poets of the Han and Wei dynasties referred to drums when they wrote poems. The Song of the Drums by Fu Wu-chung contains this verse: /Five lines of verse not translated./ This describes the palace drum dance during the Han dynasty, using words to describe the singing and dancing. However good the description, it is only a simulation. The Li Shan annotation on the phase "The clear eyes open wide to look at the p'an drums," sets in order all the phrases. On reading it one gets a better understanding of the drum dance during the Han period. The annotation states: "The p'an drum dance is not recorded in historical sources, but was spoken of by poets. It seems that the dancers stamped in unison to keep the rhythm of the dance. The ancient Hsin ch'eng-An-lo-kung Tz'u says: 'The p'an drums and bells are all jingling.' In his Ch'i P'an Wu /Seven P'an Dance/, Chang Heng says: 'Every seven p'an /rounds/ the

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M sandals go up'; again, 'the *p'an* drums glitter with heavy silk.'
174 Wang Ts'an in his *Ch'i Shih* says: 'The seven *p'an* take place
*535 in a large yard, the group fall in line, throwing their white
c sleeves high up, suddenly close their feet and stand straight,
175 looking askance at the drum, raising their voices to follow the
535 rhythm, slowly tiptoeing to follow the beat, then bending
their bodies in rapid sequence.' K'a Lan in his *Hsü-ch'ang-kung Fu* says: 'They stamp the feet to stop following, and continue when they seem about to stop. The drums roar but the steps are not confused, the feet following one after the other but not together. They lean toward the drum, zigzagging like a snake. As for the seven *p'an* dance, they go lightly like feathers.' The descriptions are similar." The *p'an* drum dance became extinct during the Tang dynasty. Although Li Shan had collected data about the various dances and studied them carefully, he had only a general idea of them. Fortunately, today we have the stone carvings from the Han dynasty.
c [532] Such books as the *Shan Tso Chin Shih chih* (2) and the *Nan-yang Han Hua-hsiang Hui-ts'un* (3) /Illus. 78 and 79, on pp. 204, 205/ /206/ contain pictures of the drum dance of the Han dynasty. Looking at the illustrations and reading the poems bring the drum dance of the Han dynasty vividly to mind. Illustrations 78 and 79 show stone carvings of the drum dance

2. By Pi Yüan and Yüan Yüan of the Ching dynasty.

3. By Sun Wen-ch'ing, published by the Literary Society of Nanking University, 1938, containing four illustrations of the drum dance, Nos. 137, 138, 139, and 142.

[text continues on p316]

2:Ling & Ruey--314 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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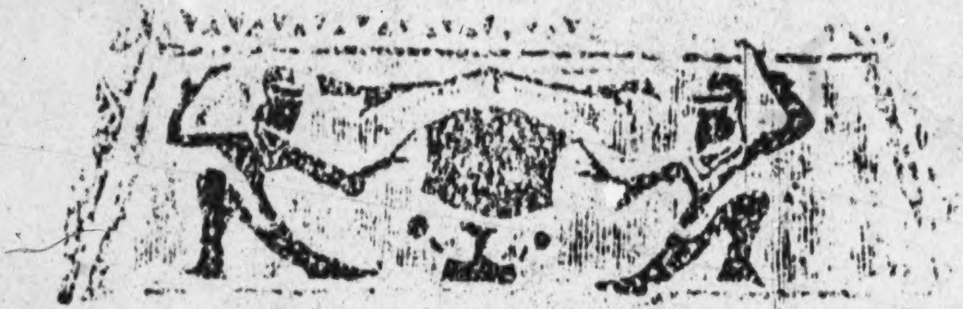

Illus. 78. Stone carving of the drum dance at Nan-yang, A.

2:Ling & Ruey--315 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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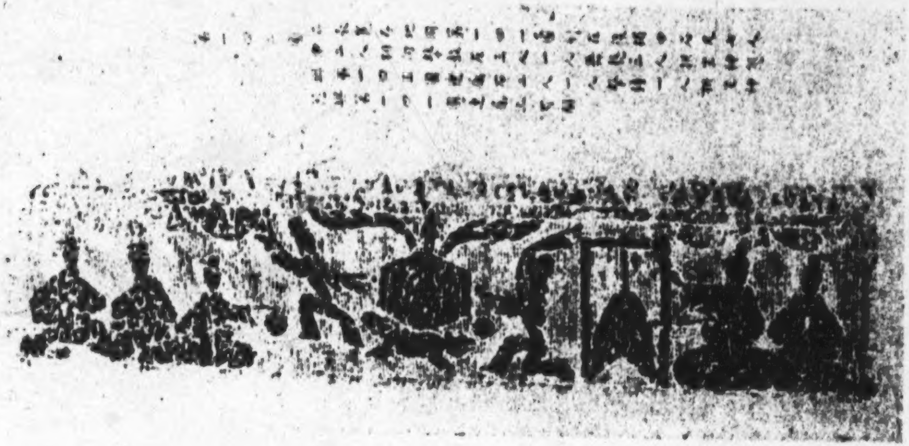

Illus. 79. Stone carving of the drum dance at Nan-yang, B.

/206 cont./

M at Nan-Yang. They very much resemble the drum dance of the
174 Hung Miao today. This strengthens the belief that the drum
*535 dance was brought into the Miao area during the Han dynasty.
C Further, according to the legend still prevalent today in the
[175 Miao area, in ancient times the Miao lived in Honan. The
ancient Chinese records refer to the Mao Jung at Yin-ti in Honan
535] province. From the geographical standpoint the theory also
seems close to facts.

M The drum dance of the Miao may be divided into two kinds:
*535 the solo dance and the duet dance. The solo dance is done by
one person beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping
the waist of the drum (Illus. 84-116). The duet dance is done
M by two persons beating the drum and dancing and one person
[562] tapping (Illus. 81, 82, and 83). There is no restriction as to
sex, any combination being permitted.

[534] The size of the drum was probably set in former times, but now there are no uniform requirements. The drum is hoisted on a wooden frame and the stick /pang/ used for tapping is about a ch'ih long, and the drumstick is about half a ch'ih.

There are two kinds of dances: the drumstick dance and the
fist dance, the difference being that in the former the drum is
M struck with the drumstick and in the latter with the fist. The
[562] fist dances, except for the ta-pa-pa dance (see later), are men's
dances and are not practiced by women. As for the drumstick dances, although they are for both men and women, there is a certain number exclusively for men. When we observed the Miao dances we felt at first that the movements were rather complicated, but after detailed analysis they are rather simple. Since within the short space of five minutes they can dance over 20 different steps in very rapid motion, each being interchangeable with the other, on-lookers cannot help but feel that the steps are extremely intricate. Following are accounts of the drumstick dance and the fist dance.

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1. The Drumstick Dance

(1) The Combing-the-Hair Dance (Illus. 85)

Both men and women dance. A man's steps: Facing the [533] drum, he beats it with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. His body faces left, the toes of his right foot face the drum, his left foot is in the same direction as his body. The two feet are about 30 centimeters /kung fen/ apart, the right leg slightly bending. His left hand goes around the head twice as if combing the hair. The second time the hand is raised ready for combing again, and at the same time the left foot is on tiptoe, with the heel raised high. The left and right alternate in beating, there being no set number of times. /Illus. 80-88, pp. 207-12/ /213/

A woman's steps: Facing the drum, she beats it with her [533] right hand, the drum beat also being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. With her body facing the drum, her ~~two feet~~ stretch out alternately to the beat of the drum. Her left hand goes across the right breast and around the head twice as if combing the hair. The left and right hands alternately beat, also without a set number of times, depending upon the endurance of the dancer. Afterward the tempo of the drum beating increases in short staccato beats, and her two feet leaping back and forth, each time she performs the hair-combing gesture once. To the accompaniment of fast beating, as the right hand beats the drum, the left foot stretches forth and the left hand combs the hair. Then the left hand beats the drum, and the right foot stretches forth and the right hand combs the hair in turn.

(2) Inserting-a-Flower Dance (Illus. 86)

Men and women both dance this. A man's steps: He beats [533] the drum with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and the body face left, the feet being

[text continues on p325]

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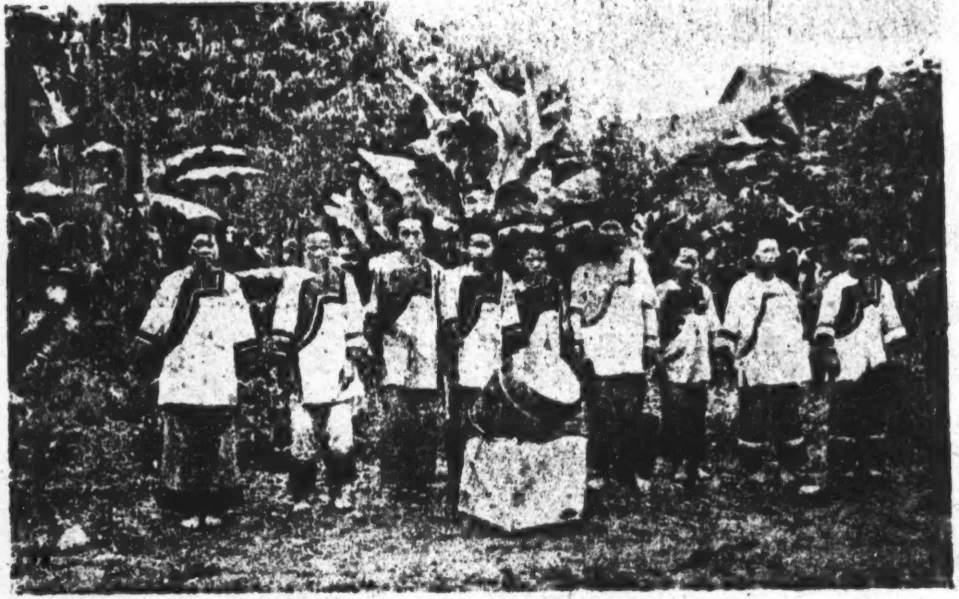

Illus. 80. Miao women's drum dance group at Kan-ch'eng.

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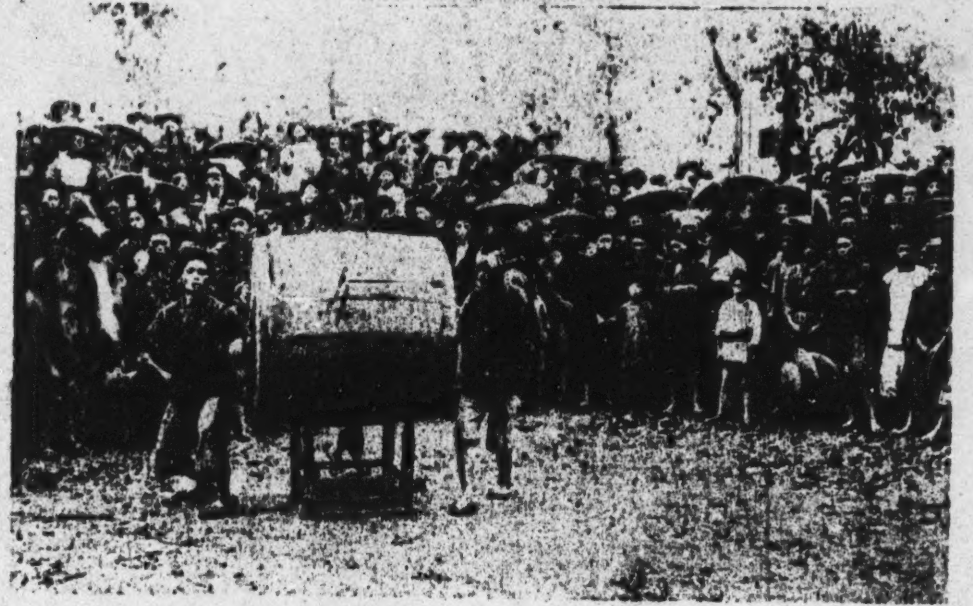

Illus. 81. Men's duet drum dance at Hsin-chai, Feng-huang.

2:Ling & Ruey--320 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Illus. 82. Woman's solo drum dance at Kao-yen Ho, Yung-sui.

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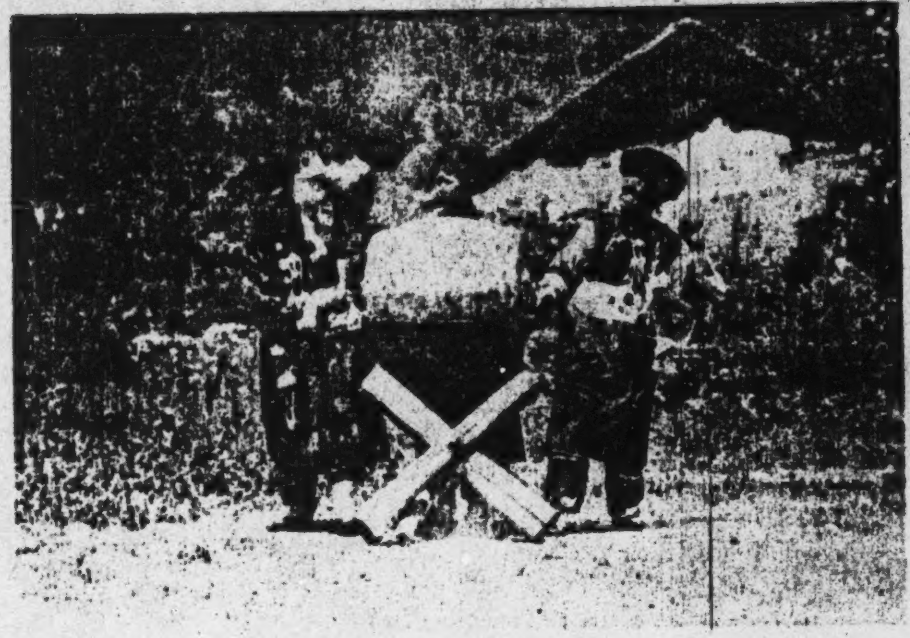

Illus. 83. Women's duet drum dance at Kao-yen Ho, Yung-sui.

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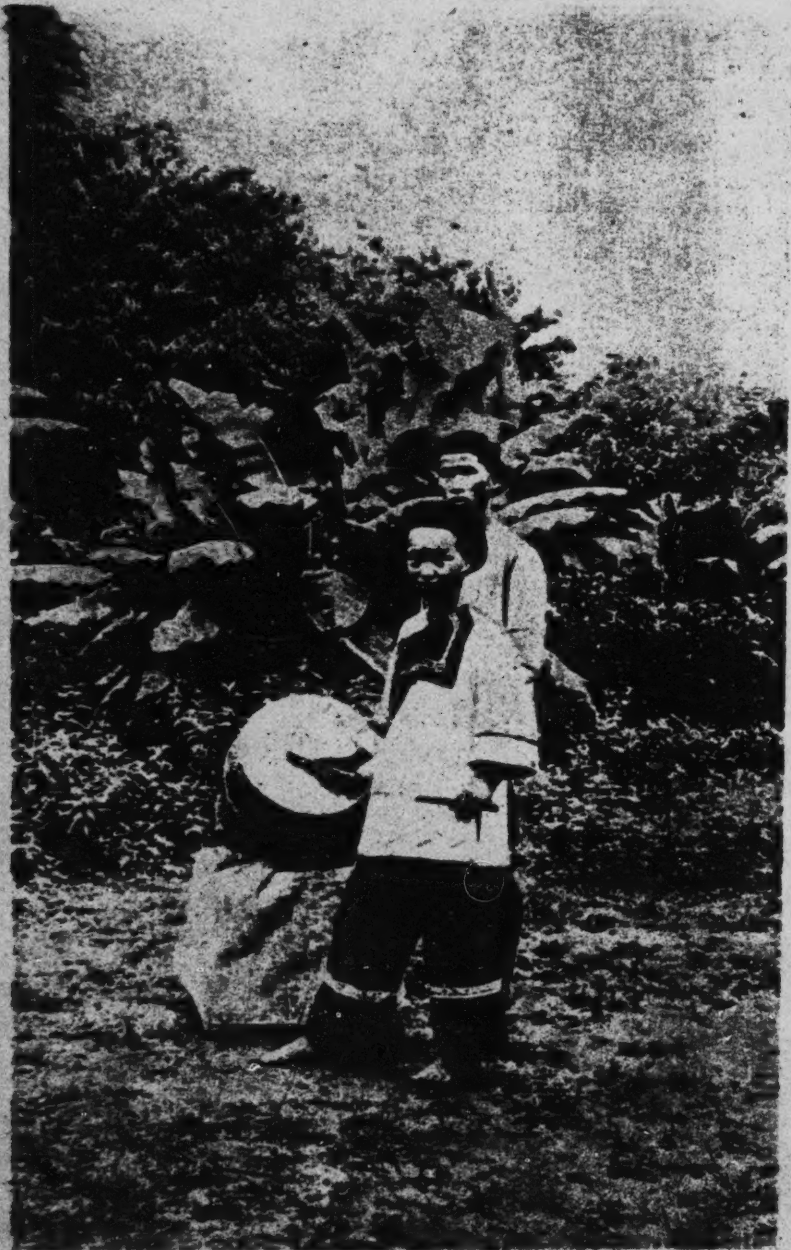

Illus. 84. Woman's solo dance at Kan-ch'eng.

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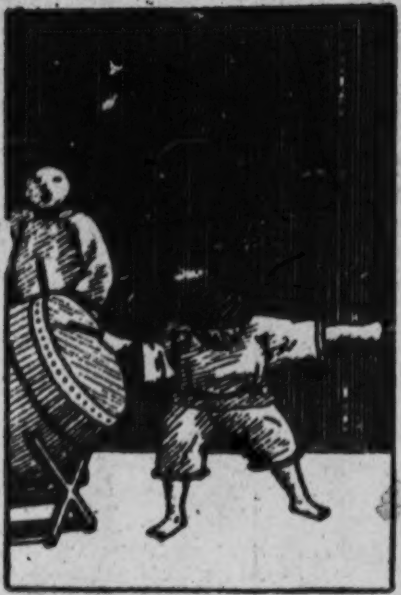
Illus. 85. Woman's Hair-Combing Dance.

Illus. 86. Inserting-a-Flower Dance.

Illus. 87. The Sword-Carrying Dance.



Illus. 88. The Bird-Flying Dance.

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*535 about 50 centimeters apart. He holds the drumstick in his left hand as the flower. First he acts as if he were picking a flower from the ground, then inserts it into his hair, left and right alternating.

A woman's steps: She beats the drum with her right hand, the body halfway to the left and the two feet about 20 centimeters apart, like the "at ease" in military drill. When the right hand beats the drum, the left hand holds the lower part of the drumstick, first making the gesture of picking a flower from the earth and then sticking it into the hair.

(3) The Sword-Carrying Dance (Illus. 87)

This dance is limited to men. The right hand beats the [533] drum, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and body face left, the two feet apart as in the Inserting-Flower dance. The left hand goes around the waist in a great circle and closes tight against the back. The left and right hands perform alternately.

(4) The Flying-Bird Dance (Illus. 88)

This dance is limited to men. First the right hand beats the drum, the body faces left, the two feet being about 65 centimeters apart, with the toes of both feet pointing left. The left hand grasps the middle of the drumstick, the arm stretches straight, and bends forward and backward, with half of the body swaying in the gesture of opening up wings to fly. Left and right sides perform alternately.

(5) The Picking-the-Ear Dance (Illus. 89)

/214/ This is danced by both men and women. A man's steps: First the right hand beats the drum, with the body facing somewhat to the left, the two feet about 30 centimeters apart, the toes of the right foot pointing toward the drum and the toes

/214 cont./

*535 of the left foot in the same direction as the body. With head bending down a little to the left and the left hand holding the drumstick, he makes a circle around the ear. Then the waist bends to the left and the drumstick makes the gesture of picking the ear once or twice. After straightening up, the dancer bends at the waist again. When the hands are being changed, the left hand makes a large semicircle with the eyes following it.

A woman's steps: The right hand beats the drum as the body faces the drum, the head bending to the left and the two feet being about 30 centimeters apart. She raises the heel of the left foot and uses the left hand to make a small circle around the ear several times. She changes hands and continues dancing.

(6) The Lifting-a-Tripod Dance (Illus. 90)

This dance is limited to men. First beating the drum with the right hand, the body facing left, the two feet about 48 centimeters apart, the dancer makes the gesture of balancing. The left hand holds the middle of the drumstick and is bent to the level of the shoulder; he straightens up his body and lifts his hand up in the gesture of lifting up a tripod. Bending it again he puts down his hand. The left hand and the right hand perform in turn.

(7) The Flower /Fancy/-Hand Drum Dance (Illus. 91, 92)

This dance may be performed by either a man or woman. A man dances by beating the drum with the right hand, his body facing the drum, his left hand in back being raised from facing down to upward in a semicircle and crossing over the right hand, the right foot crosses at the same time over the left foot, both knees slightly bent. When the left foot is standing firm and the right foot is rising, the dancer beats the drum with the left hand, and in this way he changes hands. After

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*535 a few times the two feet continue to change position, crossing each other. When the left foot is crossing over the right foot he beats the drum with both hands from the left to the right. When the right foot is crossing over the left foot, the two drumsticks come down from the right to the left. Both hands bend in a triangle. When the left hand is on top and the right hand is at the bottom, the right hand hits the drum first, and [533] the left hand follows. The drum beats tung — tung, two beats. At the same time the right leg bends forward. Left and right alternate.

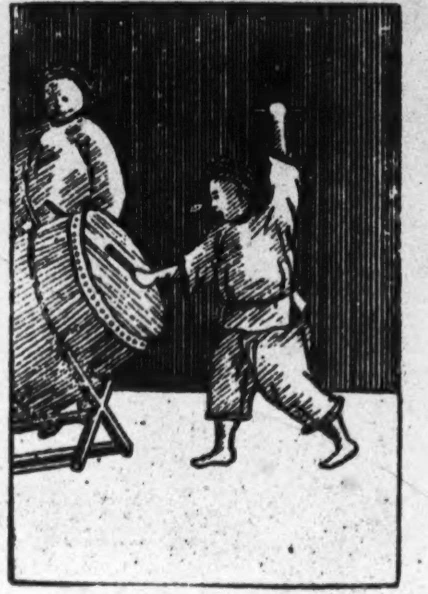
A woman dances by beating the drum with the right hand, the body facing the drum. The two feet are about 28 centimeters apart, the right foot pointing forward, the left foot slanting to the left, the heel raised. The left arm bends slightly above the shoulder and drops backward in the gesture of a butterfly flying. The beating of the drum with the right hand and the movements of the left foot and left hand must all be synchronized. In alternate turns the two feet step forth. When the dancer faces the drum, it is called ch'ien hua /forward flower/, and when the back is to the drum, /Illus. 89-92 on pp. 215-16/ /217/ it is called the hou hua /backward flower/. When the face is toward the left or right, it is called the "left flower" and the "right flower" respectively.

(8) The Round-Hand Drum Dance (Illus. 93, 94)

Both men and women may do this dance. A man dances by beating the drum with his right hand, his two feet about 70 centimeters apart. It may be divided into two kinds: the small round-hand dance and the large round-hand dance. In the small round-hand drum dance the dancer faces the drum, his two feet pointing together in the form of an arrow, the left hand bent and raised to head level, the wrist turning in a small circle; left and right alternate in this. In the large round-hand dance the dancer also faces the drum, the two feet standing parallel. The hand is straight out and then is revolved

[text continues on p330]

Illus. 89. Woman's Picking-the-Ear Dance.



Illus. 90. Lifting-the-Tripod Dance.

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Illus. 91. Flower-Hand Drum Dance.

Illus. 92. Woman's Flower-Hand Drum Dance.

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/217 cont./

*535 from the shoulder to form a large circle. When the hand reaches head level, the face turns outward.

A woman dances in the same way as a man, except that the arm turns in a circle and that is all.

(9) Monkey Dance (Illus. 95)

The rhythm of this dance is very fast; both men and women
dance it. A man dances by beating the drum with the right
[533] hand, tung, tung — tung, face toward the drum, left and right
hands beating in turn. The two feet are about 38 centimeters
apart parallel to each other. After beating several times, the
dancer closes up the feet to form an arrow. The left and right
hands each beats tung, tung — tung two times. Then he turns
his body about but without moving his feet. The left hand
beats the drum, tung, tung — tung, he turns and once more
sounds three beats. After turning like this several times, the
[533] two drumsticks make seven drumbeats, tung, tung, tung, tung,
[533] tung, tung, — tung, and turning and striking seven drumbeats,
he continues turning, the faster the better.

A woman dances by squatting down on both feet; she begins to beat the drum first with the right hand, then left and right beat continuously. After beating several times, she turns her body left with her back facing the drum, the right hand continuing beating the drum. The left hand also beats backward, alternating with the right hand. She turns to the left and the right, the faster the better.

(10) The Drawing-Out-a-Fire-Pot Dance (Illus. 96)

This dance is limited to men. The drum is beaten with the right hand; the two feet are about 50 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The distance between the two feet, however, depends upon the height of the drum; the higher the drum the closer the feet, the lower the drum the farther apart the feet. The left hand bends first forward then back in the gesture

/217 cont./
*535 of drawing out a feng-lu /a small, portable fire pot/. After a few times, the left and right hands and the left and right feet dance alternately. /Illus. 93-96 appear on pp. 218-19./

/220/ (11) The Forging-Iron Dance (Illus. 97)

Limited to men, this dance is performed by pointing the two feet in the form of an arrow with the toes facing forward, sometimes with the heels raised. The body of the dancer faces the drum, both hands first thrust backward, and when they swing forward they beat the drum.

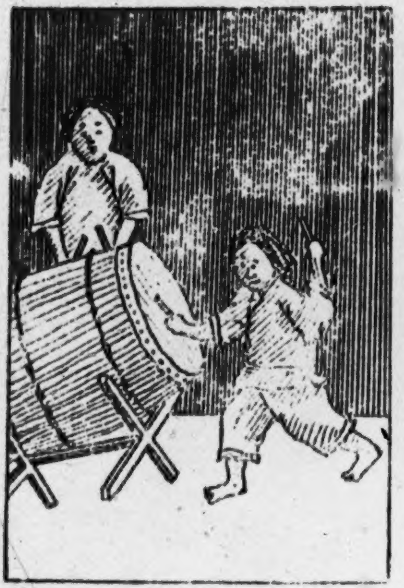
(12) The Turning-a-Mill Dance (Illus. 98)

This is a men's dance. Both feet also are in the form of an arrow and about 60 centimeters apart, the heels raised. The right hand beats the drum first, tung, tung, — tung, twice, the left hand flings in a circle and then beats the drum, also [533] tung, tung, — tung. Then both hands descend on the drum at the same time, beating rapidly, producing tung — tung drumbeats, in the gesture of turning a mill. There is also the turning-a-small-mill dance. The feet, about 40 cm. apart, also form an arrow. The right hand beats the drum and the left hand circles before the drum in the gesture of turning a mill. Sometimes a woman also performs this turning-a-mill dance, but this is rarely seen.

(13) The Pulling-a-Beard Dance (Illus. 99)

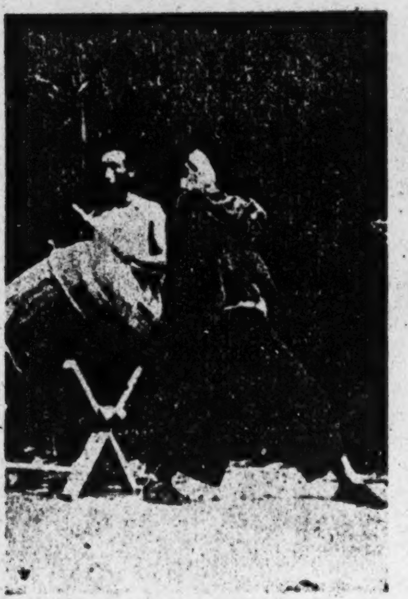
This dance is limited to men. Body forward, the dancer has his feet parallel about 30 centimeters apart. His right hand beats the drum and his left hand, grasping a drumstick, is raised to the mouth with the thumb up to make the gesture of pulling on a beard; then the left hand stretches left in the gesture of straightening out the beard. The left and the right hand alternate in this act.

[text continues on p334]

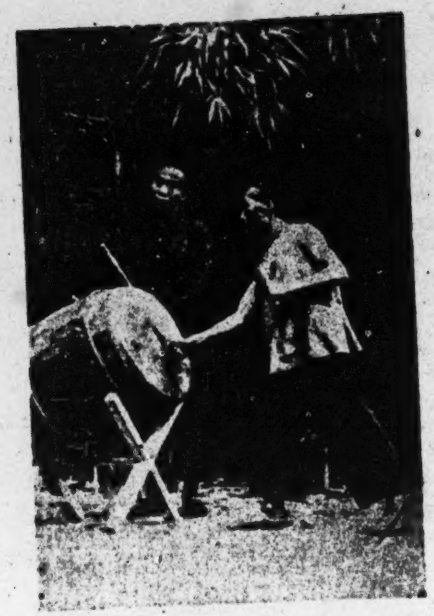


Illus. 93. Small Round-Hand Dance.

Illus. 94. Large Round-Hand Dance.



Illus. 95. Monkey Dance.



Illus. 96. Drawing-Out-the-Fire-Pot Dance.

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*535 (14) The Going-Through-a-Hole Dance (Illus. 100)

This dance, also called "Yellow Dog Going Through a Hole," is limited to men. The dancer beats the drum with the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, his body turning to the left and slightly leaning. His left hand threads through under the left leg and beats the drum once. Then the same hand goes through under the right leg and beats the drum once. He beats the drum twice in this way, then changes to his left hand to beat the drum.

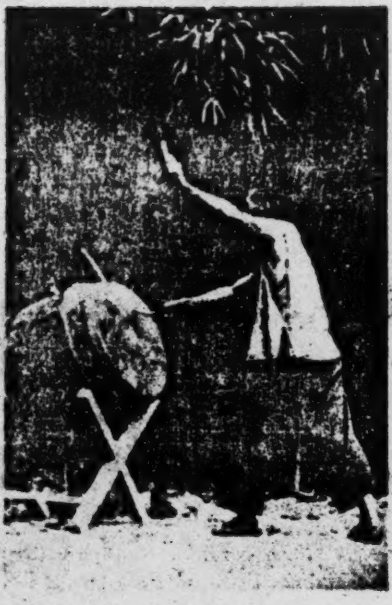
(15) The Flowers-Covering-the-Head Dance (Illus. 101)

This dance, also called the Plum Flowers Covering the Head, is danced by either men or women, in exactly the same fashion. The right hand beats the drum, the right heel rising, and both feet jumping slightly. Next, the left hand beats the drum, and the left heel rises. The act is repeated four times. Then when the right hand beats the drum again, the left hand holds the drumstick and makes the movement of a spiral above the head. /Illus. 97-102 appear on pp. 221-23./ /224/

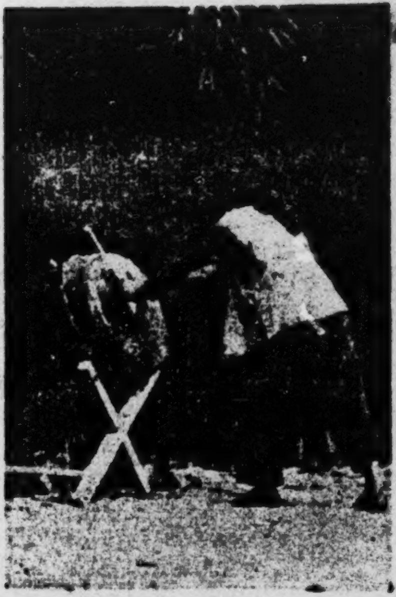
(16) Raising-the-Hand Flower Drum Dance (Illus. 102)

This dance is limited to men. The dancer beats out on the drum the drumbeat, tung, tung, — tung, three times. His face is toward the drum, his body faces slightly left, his two feet are about 33 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The left hand is flung up to make a circle and beats the drum; the right hand beats in the same pattern, while the body faces a bit to the right at the same time. He beats like this a few times. He changes to his left hand to beat the drum, tung, tung, — tung, three times, the right foot turning around one step, the body facing right, both feet in a parallel position. The right hand then goes around his back to beat the drum once, and the left hand also beats it once. He does this twice. His body and

[text continues on p338]



Illus. 97. Forging-Iron Dance.



Illus. 98. Turning-a-Mill Dance.

2:Ling & Ruey--335 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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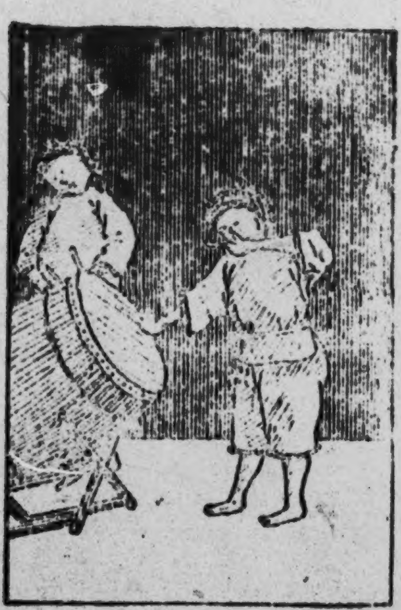
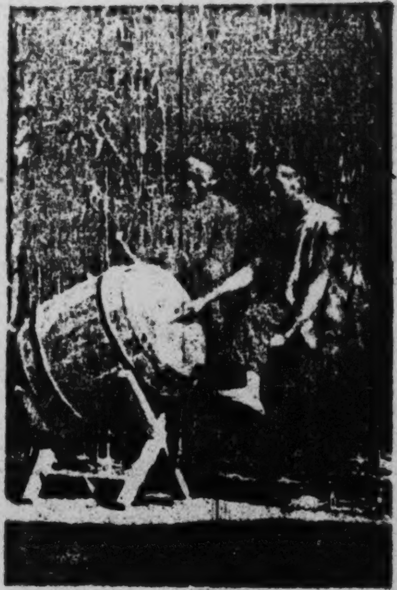


Illus. 99. Pulling-a-Beard Dance



Illus. 100. Going-Through-a-Hole Dance.

Illus. 101. Flower-Covering-the-Head Dance.

Illus. 102. Raising-the-Hand Flower Drum Dance.

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*535 feet turned to the left, he stands facing left with his left hand behind his back to beat the drum once, and then with the right hand he does the same.

(17) The *Yin-Yang* Two-Hands Dance (Illus. 103)

This dance is limited to men. The dancer beats the drum with his right hand, his body facing the drum, his two feet, 50 centimeters apart forming an arrow. The left hand beats the drum to the right, and also makes the tung, tung, — tung sound, altogether four times. Without moving the feet from their position, the dancer turns his body around to beat the drum in quick succession several times without stopping, the faster the better. Facing the drum is *yin*, and turning the body is *yang*. When the dancer begins beating the drum for this dance, his body must be at a slight distance from the drum.

(18) The Dragon-Around-the-Waist Dance (Illus. 104)

This dance, also called the Yellow Dragon Around the Waist, may be danced by both men and women, in the same way. The body of the dancer faces left and the two feet are parallel, about 40 centimeters apart. The drum is first struck with the right hand; then the left hand goes from around the waist to the back to hit the drum one beat, then quickly withdraws to the front to hit the drum one beat. In this way, the dancer beats the drum going from front to back several times, alternating his left and right hands.

(19) The Fish-Jumping Dance (Illus. 105)

This dance is limited to men. The body of the dancer is in a slanting position to the right of the drum, forming with it an obtuse angle. His feet, about 60 centimeters apart, form an arrow. The left hand first beats the drum with the rhythm tung, tung, — tung two times. The left hand beats it out

/224 cont./

*535 once, then the right hand beats once. The dancer leaps to the left of the drum, the carriage of his body and the position of his feet remaining the same as before. After beating the drum two times with the left hand and once with the right hand, the dancer leaps again, and he continues to dance going from leaping to dancing. /Illus. 103-106, pp. 225-26./ /227/

(20) The Dragon-Changing-into-a-Fish Dance (Illus. 106)

Men and women both dance this, and it is performed in the same manner by either. The body of the dancer faces left and forms an obtuse angle with the drum, the two feet forming a short arrow. The right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung. Leaping on his left foot to the left side of the drum, the dancer beats the drum with the left hand. Then on his right foot he leaps to the right side of the drum, and the left hand beats the drum first, followed by the right hand, and then the left again, when the left foot moves to the left side of the drum, the head moving across under the left armpit. When the right foot moves over it still forms the shape of an arrow. The right hand beats, the left hand beats, and again the right hand beats the drum. When the right foot moves over to the right side of the drum, at the same time the head goes under the right armpit. Turning his body around, the dancer moves the left foot over, once more forming an arrow; and thus left and right, back and forth, the dance goes on.

(21) The Monkey-Teasing-the-Ox Dance (Illus. 107)

This dance is limited to men. The dancer is at the right side of the drum, facing the right with both feet forming an arrow. The right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung. As the left foot moves over to the left side of the drum, the left hand beats the drum. When the right foot moves over to the right of the drum, the left foot does not move, and the two feet still form an arrow. The left hand continues to beat

[text continues on p342]

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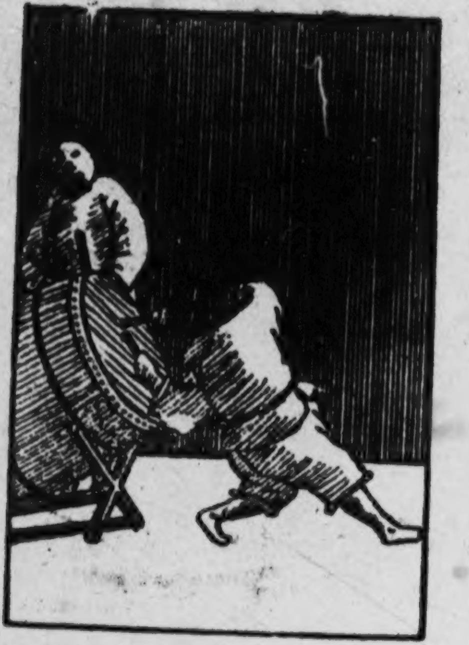
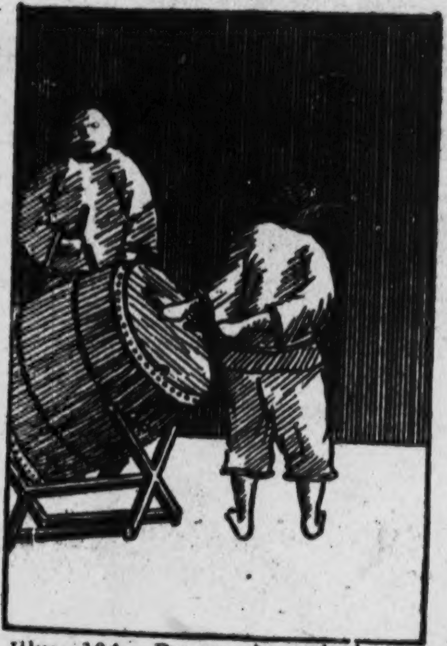


Illus. 103. Yin-yang Two-Hands Dance.



Illus. 104. Dragon-Around-the-Waist Dance.

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2:Ling & Ruey--341 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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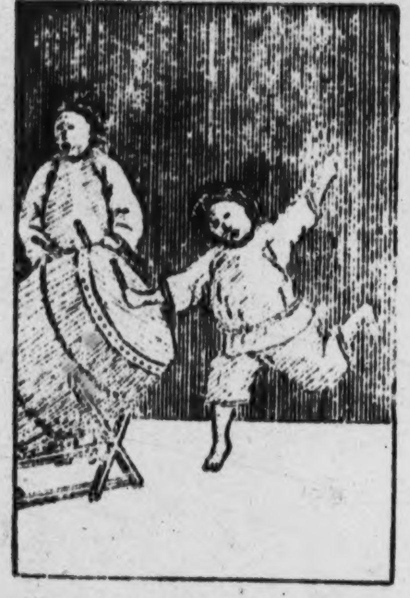
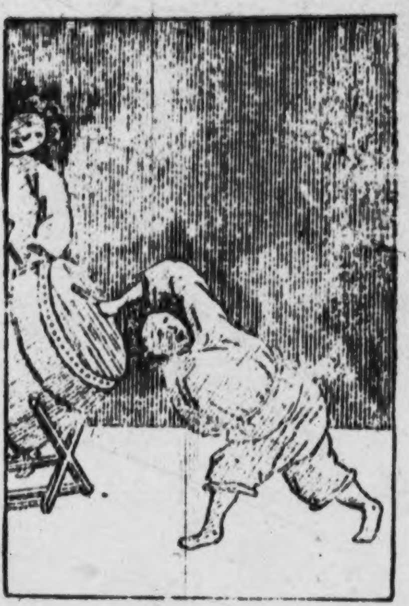


Illus. 105. Fish-Jumping Dance.



Illus. 106. Dragon-Changing-into-a-Fish Dance.

535*

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*535 the drum, the dancer squats down in the position of riding a horse. The right hand holds the middle section of the drumstick, moving upward from below in the gesture of throwing water on an ox three or four times. When the water is being thrown up, the two feet are parallel, and when he squats down to get the water the legs takes the horse position. The right hand also simulates scrubbing the ox from top to bottom; when the dancer stands up, his feet are parallel, when he squats down, they form the horse position. He scrubs from left to right, and from right to left, back and forth several times. Then he moves the right foot to the left side of the drum, beats it with the right hand, his left hand simulating throwing water and scrubbing the ox several times as before. Then, the left foot moves over to the right side of the drum to form an arrow with the right foot, the left hand beats the drum, and the right hand scrubs the back of the ox. The performance is repeated once each on the left and right. While the movements of throwing water on the ox and scrubbing the ox are simulated, the drum must be beaten without stopping.

(22) The Rice-Shoot-Transplanting Dance (Illus. 108)

Men and women both dance this, the steps being the same for either. The dancer stands at the middle of the drum, with the body turned left, both feet forming a low horseback position. The right hand beats the drum and the left hand holds one end of the drumstick as if grasping a rice shoot. First the dancer simulates pulling up the young plant, once on the left and once on the right, and then simulates transplanting, also once to the left and once to the right. /Illus. 107 and 108 on page 228./

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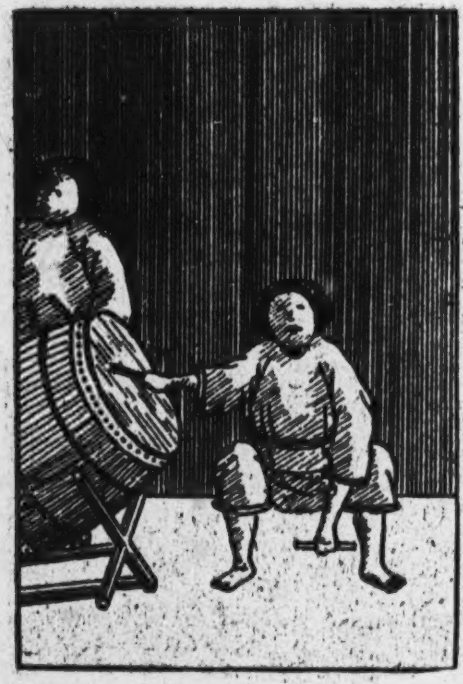
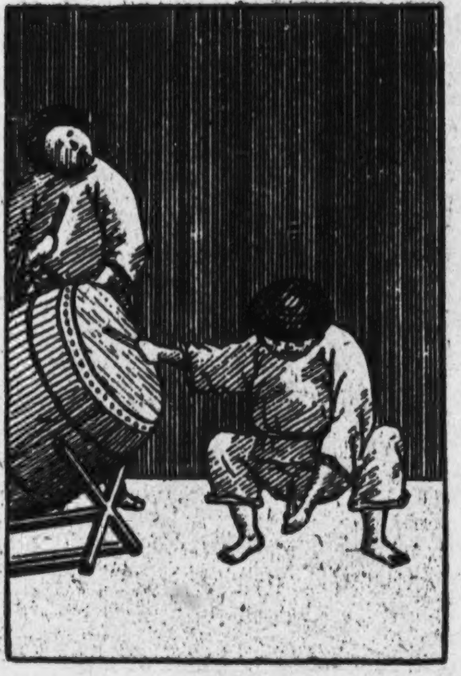


Illus. 107. The Monkey-Teasing-the-Ox Dance.



Illus. 108. The Rice-Shoot-Transplanting Dance.

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2. The Fist Dance

*535 (1) The Flowers-Blooming-Skyward Dance (Illus. 109)

The dancer faces the drum at a distance of about 150 centimeters. To begin beating the drum, he squats a little, and first crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the right fist following the direction of the right foot, and dances. The left foot and the left hand dance to the left in the same way. The number of steps taken is immaterial, depending upon the size of the area. Generally at the third step he must beat the drum, tung — tung.

(2) The Firecracker Dance (Illus. 110)

The firecracker dance is divided into two kinds, the small dance and the large firecracker dance. In the small firecracker dance the body faces the drum with the feet, about 90 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The drum is beaten with both hands in rapid succession. The stance for the large firecracker dance is the same, except that the two hands have to swing backward and upward in a large circle before hitting the drum. The drumbeats are slow.

(3) The Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance (Illus. 111)

This dance follows the large firecracker dance. When the right hand beats the drum, the dancer turns around with his back to the drum, moving the position of the left foot a little to form a triangle with its original position. His body facing right, he hits the drum once with the right hand first, then the left hand once, and again the right hand once. Turning around to the left, with the left hand he beats the drum once, then once with the right hand, and again the left hand, three beats in succession.

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*535 (4) The Dog-Going-Through-a-Hole Dance (Illus. 112)

This dance follows immediately after the Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance. When beating the drum facing left, the right foot goes back a short step, the left hand beats the drum, the right hand goes under the right leg and beats, the left hand beats, the right hand beats, and again the left hand beats, the right hand going under the left leg to beat, the left hand beats. Turning the body around, the dancer beats the drum with the right hand, then with the left hand, and again with the right hand, the left hand goes under the right leg to beat the drum, the right hand beats, then the left hand, and again the right, the left hand goes under the left leg and beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand. The beating is continuous, the faster the better. /Illus. 109-14, on pp. 230-32./

/233/ (5) The Riding-a-Horse Dance (Illus. 113)

The dancer faces the drum with his two feet parallel, slightly squatting. The left hand beats the drum, the right hand, going under the right leg, beats, the left hand beats the drum, then the right hand beats, and the left hand, going under the left leg, beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand beats, and the right hand, going under the right leg, beats.

(6) The Fierce-Tiger-Sitting-in-a-Hall Dance (Illus. 114)

[533] The dancer faces the drum, the body half turned to the left. The right hand beats the drum six times, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, the left arm bent to the level of the left shoulder, the two feet parallel to each other. Then the left foot goes back one step, forming a right angle, the right foot goes back, then the left foot comes forward, still forming a right angle; the left hand beats the drum, the right arm bent to the level of the right shoulder.

[text continues on p 349]

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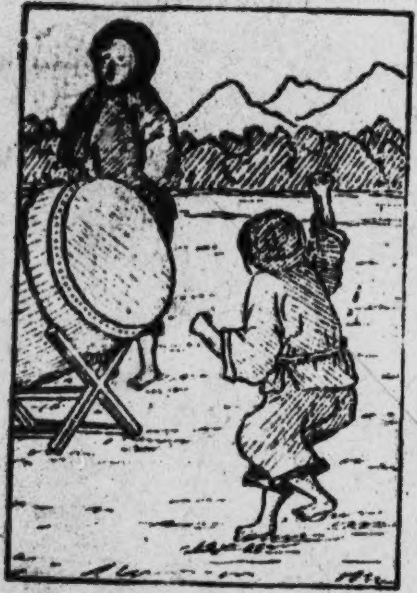
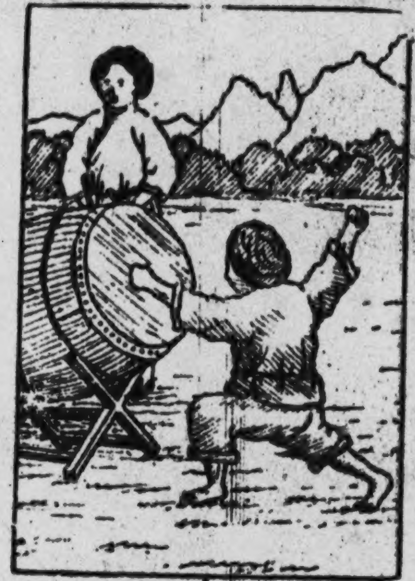
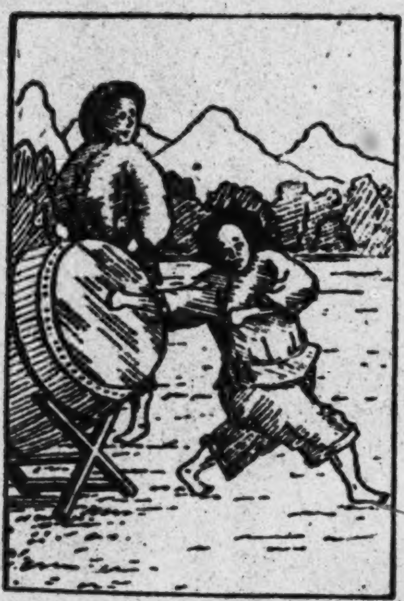


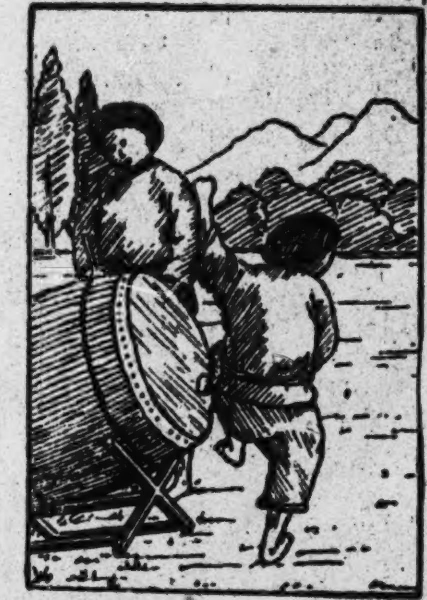
Illus. 109. Flower-Blooming-Skyward Dance.



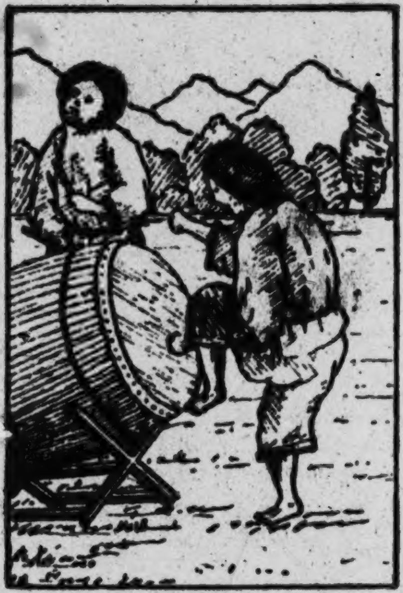
Illus. 110. Firecracker Dance.



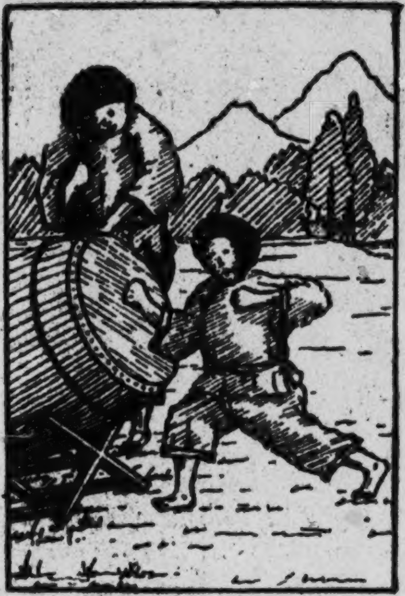
Illus. 111. Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance.



Illus. 112. Dog-Going-Through-a-Hole Dance.



Illus. 113. Riding-a-Horse Dance.



Illus. 114. Fierce-Tiger-Sitting-in-a-Hall Dance.

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*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot,
the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow.
[533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung,
— tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of
an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum
once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in
unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

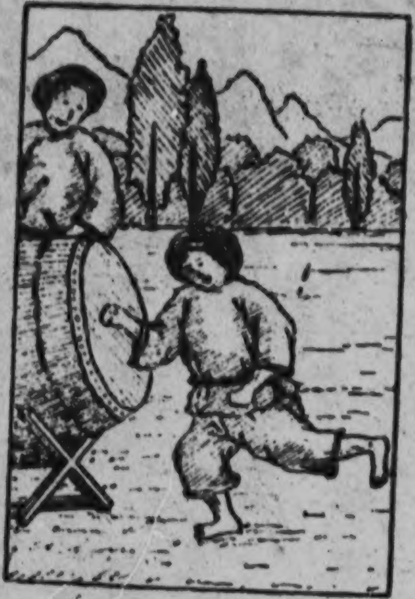
The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly
left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated,
making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25
centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum
[533] is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung,
two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung,
tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a
hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands
alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

257 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat
catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the
goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/
gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttle-
cock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese
[177] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We
shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on p351]



Illus. 116. Fierce-Tiger-Coming-Down-the-Hill Dance.

Illus. 116. Ta-Pa-Pa Dance.

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535*

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(1) Firing Mud Guns

524 A number of children gather together, each getting soft mud from a field and molding it into the shape of a bowl or basin, with a hole or several holes at the top. After they are finished, each child picks his up and smashes it on the ground, producing a resounding noise like the report of a gun (Illus. 117). When a mud gun falls on the ground and breaks without popping, then its owner is counted as losing and is eliminated from the contest, and helps the winner to make more guns. There are several kinds of mud guns, as in Illus. 118.

(2) Making Mud Coins

A quantity of clean clay earth is used. Water is added and molded into a small lump. Two large copper coins of the K'ang-hsi or Ch'ien-lung reign periods are used to press the earth to make a number of "coins." A thin stick is used to thread through the holes of the coins. These are rolled over a few times on the ground. Afterwards they are separated one from the other and dried in the sun. They are used in place of money to pay off losses in games. Each copper coin is worth 50 clay coins.

(3) Tattooing the Wrist

857
304 Boys and girls about 12 or 13 years old, when having nothing else to do, often collect in groups of three to five in one place to amuse themselves by tattooing designs on each other's wrists. The method is as follows; First a long piece of hemp string is tied around the wrist, exposing the part to be tattooed, above which is tied another piece of string. At these two places the blood is stopped by being bound with the hemp string. Then the exposed part is hit with a piece of wood or bamboo until the skin becomes red, then purple. Then the desired design is lightly tattooed on it, causing the skin to bleed. Then color

/235 cont./
857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains
permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
526 same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[177] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
[411] of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing
prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to
Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

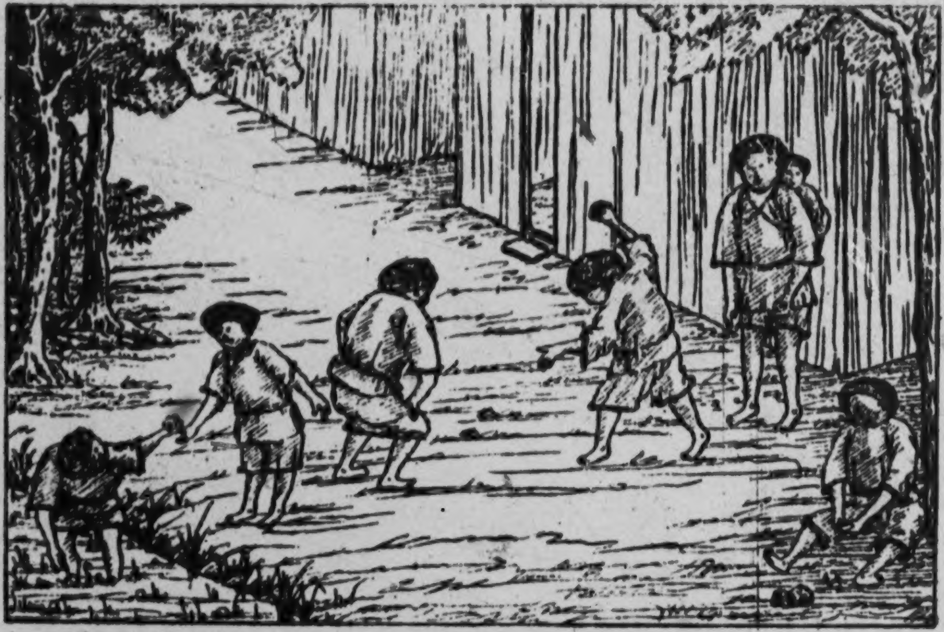
(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during
the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on
a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every
swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a
board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
[533] with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and
forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
539 translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
773 swing:

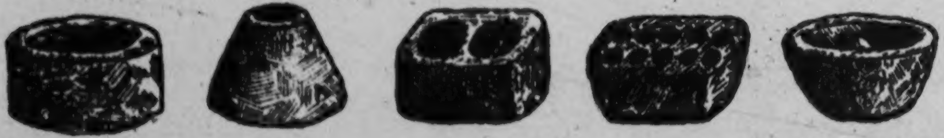
526 Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]



Illus. 117. Firing mud guns.



Illus. 118. Various kinds of mud guns.

Illus. 119. Tilting among the Miao.

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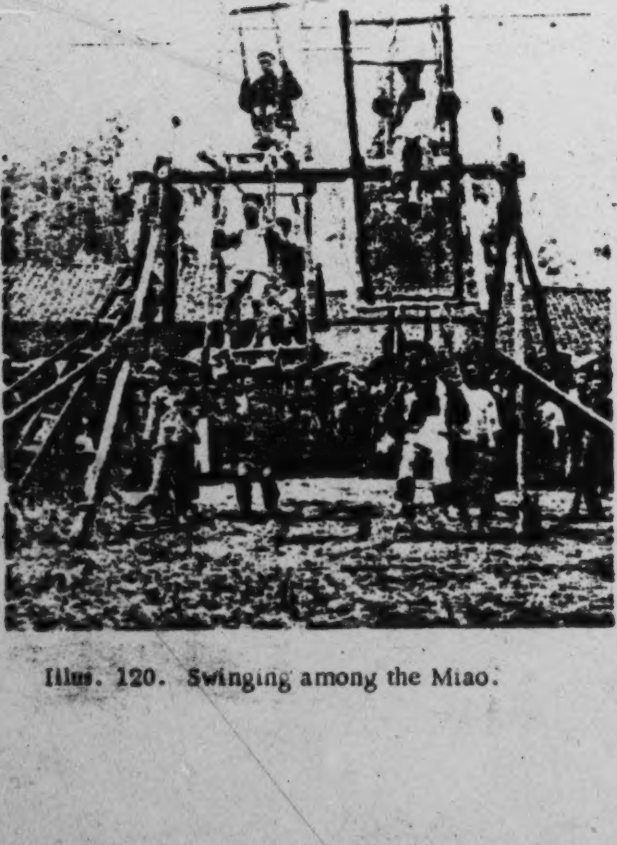
526



Illus. 120. Swinging among the Miao.

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773

Shouting, he made known his invitation.
A maid from the Sleeping Tiger Mountain,
Came to ride on the eight-men swing.
She was loved by all present.
Soon, a go-between was found —
Man and wife were joined together for a
hundred years.

113, 563 Central China AF14

[For a report on an investigation of the Miao of Western Hunan see 2: Ling and Ruey, AE5 Miao, category 116]

2: Ling & Ruey

AE5 Miao AE5

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/Information on the historical identification of the Miao will be found in category 116, pp. 1-46.

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2: Ling & Ruey AE 5 Miao AE5

175, 648

/For information on the relations between the Miao and Chinese in Western Hunan, beginning in the 14th Century, and including the establishment of Miao official posts by the Chinese, see category 116, pp. 148-175/

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/For a discussion of the meaning of the name "Miao" based on evidence from written sources, see category 116, pp. 2-26./

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/For information on Miao propitiation ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 187-297./

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756, 796

/For information on the part played by the sorcerer-priest (shaman) in Miao propitiation ceremonies, and a description of these ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 191-297./

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/For a description of Miao religious practices borrowed from the Chinese see a discussion of the "guest religion," category 116, pp. 237-297./

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/For additional information on divination in Miao propitiation ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 251-273 and 277-296./

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/For detailed information on the various types of Miao drumstick and fist dances, see category 116, pp. 310-350./

2: Ling and Ruey

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Chart of position of Maps of Illustration 1.

p. 48a	p. 48c
p. 48b	p. 48d

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C
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701

Chart of the position of Table showing the military organization of the Hsien

p. 161	p. 163
p. 162	p. 164

2: Ling and Ruey

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chai - Miao settlements

chiao-tzu - implement of divination (two bamboo splints on which are written the character chiao)

hsien - district (Chinese)

Kuei - spirit (devil, ancestral spirit, god)

lao-shih - sorcerer-priest

pao - fort (Chinese)

pa-pa - maize baked into a crust

shen - spirit (of Chinese origin)

t'un - small scale fortification (smaller than a pao) (Chinese)